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EDITORIAL

A REVIEW EDITORIAL IN 1940 POINTED OUT THAT ALTHOUGH MENNONITE sociology is a rich field of study, and offers Mennonite scholars an unusual opportunity to serve their group, it has been much neglected. Since that time there has been considerable development in this study, but no systematic survey of the field, its accomplishments, and its possibilities has been reported. J. Howard Kauffman has now undertaken this in his article in this issue, "Toward a Sociology of Mennonites." Besides a clear analysis of the scope of the field, a classification of topics for research in contemporary Mennonite life, and some methodological considerations, he presents a very comprehensive survey of the literature already produced, together with a comprehensive bibliography which is rich in periodical literature and unpublished theses and papers. As a guide to further study this last feature is of outstanding value. The field is large, and even though a substantial amount of work has already been done, there are wide vistas of open areas for fertile study ahead. Such studies, though they must be objective to be valid, can have very great practical value in the life and work of Mennonite groups of varying types. As cohesive social groups, Mennonites have a unique character, in which sociological factors often play fully as important a part as the religious and theological factors.

IN HIS ARTICLE IN THIS ISSUE ON ANABAPTISM AND CHURCH ORGANIZATION PAUL Peachey makes a serious attempt to secure an accurate picture of the church polity of the early Anabaptists with a view to determining the relation of organization to spiritual strength. Having derived this picture as essentially one of democratic congregationalism with strong leadership plus direct reliance on the Holy Spirit and the Scripture, he then seeks to trace the relationship of later changes from this early polity into a more rigid authoritarian structure to an observable decline in spiritual strength. Sharply critical of these changes and the serious damage which he feels they did to the life and witness of the Mennonites, Peachey comes to the arresting conclusion that "A recovery of the largely lost dimension of the local *koinonia-ekklesia* is indispensable if the Anabaptist vision is to survive creatively in this century."

Peachey's essay is an excellent illustration of that combination of the historical and theological elements with the practical, which can make historical study of so much value in understanding current problems and working at their solution. He comments that it is his hope "that this paper will stimulate further research and discussion on the problem." It is certain to do just that. It is rather difficult to assign the proper causes to observable effects, and there are doubtless those who will want further confirmation of the thesis that the rise and fall of spiritual vitality in such a religious movement as Anabaptist-Mennonitism is due in whole or in large part to the structural and organizational changes in the group's life. There seem also to be hidden a priori assumptions (apart from the evidence adduced from Anabaptist and Mennonite history) which might also deserve careful scrutiny, such as that the New Testament pattern of church organization is definitely congregational, and that congregationalism is the only or at least the best polity for the development and maintenance of the type of church and Christian life which Anabaptism calls for. Upon the answer to some of these questions may well depend the acceptance by others of the conclusions reached by the author. In any case the author's urgent search for the means for the perpetuation and strengthening of the creative functioning of the Anabaptist vision will have warm support.

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

TOWARD A SOCIOLOGY OF MENNONITES

J. Howard Kauffman*

As a field of study and research, Mennonite history has become quite well defined and firmly established among Mennonite educational institutions. For more than fifty years, able scholars both inside and outside Mennonite circles have been reconstructing the thrilling story of the origins, growth, and development of the Anabaptist-Mennonite movement and its various branches of more recent times. The serious study of contemporary Mennonite life, however, is a very recent development. The application of the concepts and methods of sociology to the study of contemporary Mennonitism has only begun. In introducing two early articles of a sociological nature appearing in the Review in 1940, H. S. Bender observes that these articles "point the way to a rich field of study, Mennonite sociology, which has been much neglected, but in which Mennonite scholars of today have an unusual opportunity to serve their group."[1]

It is the purpose of this paper (1) to call attention to the progress already made in the direction of a sociology of Mennonites, and (2) to suggest a definition of the general scope and specific concerns of sociological research related to contemporary Mennonitism. It is hoped that thereby a more definitive answer can be given to the question, What is the sociology of Mennonites? Subsequent sections of this paper will deal with the following six topics:

1. The beginnings of a sociology of Mennonites.

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1 Harold S. Bender, "Editorial," *MQR* (October, 1940), 14:190.

2. A classification of topics for research in contemporary Mennonite life.
3. A survey of the literature on the sociology of Mennonites.
4. The selection of significant topics for research.
5. Some methodological considerations in the sociological study of Mennonites.
6. A bibliography on the sociology of Mennonites.

The study is based on several objectives. The first objective is to provide a survey and bibliography of studies of a sociological nature having to do with one or more aspects of Mennonite life and thought. A second objective is to relate these separate and unintegrated studies to some useful classificational scheme. The objective is to see past and present studies not as isolated, unrelated bits of research, but as parts of a larger mosaic, or integrated whole.

A third objective is to provide suggestions of topics for future research projects. College instructors are frequently faced with the problem of helping a student find a research topic of interest to him. Not infrequently the student wants to find a topic related to Mennonite life and thought, whether it be for a term paper in some course, or for a more extended study for a research paper or thesis. The student may be quite lacking in his comprehension of the nature and scope of topics from which he may select. Graduate students are also faced with the problem of selecting significant problems for research in their advanced programs. Before appropriating financial support to a research project, research foundations must judge a proposed topic in terms of its meaningfulness, its significance, and its relation to some larger framework of values and objectives. It is hoped that the classified topic suggestions given below will assist students of the future in their selection of topics of interest to them.

A fourth objective is to suggest the possibility of better integration of future research projects related to Mennonites. There needs to be a better sense of general direction and goals in research on contemporary Mennonite life. What are the significant problems to which students of Mennonite life may address themselves? In fact, a more basic question is, Why should scholars study Mennonites at all? What are the goals and ultimate concerns which motivate research on Mennonites? What returns other than satisfying course or degree requirements do Mennonites and non-Mennonites really get from their investment in time, money, and talent devoted to such research?

There are a great number of research topics that might be selected for study. It is likely that only a small proportion of such topics can be studied in the foreseeable future. Which topics are most im-

portant? Which topics should have priority? The limitations of time, money, and students make it imperative that the available resources be judiciously allocated. To illustrate the problem, data on the age distribution, sex ratios, or vital statistics of Mennonites may be interesting and fairly easy to collect, but resources should not be spent on collecting such data unless it can be clearly seen how the data will help in solving some significant problem faced by Mennonites today. Information for information's sake is not a sufficient basis for allocating limited resources.

A fifth and final objective of this study is to point up some of the methodological problems which face scholars who aspire to do research of a sociological nature. Answers to these problems will not necessarily be proposed. A worth-while accomplishment will result if scholars are more clearly aware of the weaknesses and pitfalls which so easily beset the researcher in his work. The full awareness of a methodological problem may itself suggest a solution. Moreover, there exists today an ever-growing body of literature on social research methods in which answers to methodological problems can be found. Research worth doing at all is worth doing well. The current refinement of social research methods makes possible the conducting of research on Mennonites which is methodologically valid and statistically reliable. In view of this possibility, we must not be content with second-rate scholarship.

1. The Beginnings of a Sociology of Mennonites

The area of study known as the sociology of religion includes two major aspects: (1) the sociological description and analysis of religious groups and institutions, and (2) the relationship between religion and society. In regard to the latter, religion is viewed as affecting the forms and quality of social relationships and, in turn, as being affected by them. In the study of Mennonites it is possible to describe and analyze their social organization and institutions, even as it is possible to describe their history or their religious doctrines. Secondly, it is possible to study how Mennonite beliefs and doctrines affect the social life of the group; for example, how beliefs affect the acceptance or rejection of certain occupations, or the use of leisure time, or family "atmosphere." Thirdly, the nature and quality of their contacts with the natural and social environments in which they live serves to modify their religious beliefs and mores, to some extent at least. These three areas of study constitute a sociology of Mennonites.

American Mennonites are divided into some 18 or 20 separate and independent groups, only five of them, however, having as many

as 10,000 members. Other Mennonite groups are found in Germany, Switzerland, France, the Netherlands, Russia, Paraguay, Brazil, and other European and South American countries. In addition, mission churches have been established in Africa, India, Japan, China, Indonesia, Argentina, and other areas. Drawing generalizations for such a heterogeneous population is often difficult, and sometimes impossible. Although most Mennonite groups are united by a common core of Biblical faith, there is much variation in the social expression of this faith. In some respects, Mennonites are similar only in name and common origin. Therefore any study of Mennonites must be limited to some small homogeneous group, or else the comparative method must continually be employed in order to point out the variations between the groups studied.

Although the study of Mennonite life and thought in America goes back into the nineteenth century, prior to World War II there were very few studies that could claim a primarily sociological approach. To be sure, the writings of historians provide valuable insights into the social aspects of Mennonite life and thought both in Europe and America down to the present day; nevertheless, the systematic description and analysis of the Mennonite social fabric has gotten under way only in the last fifteen years. Recently, however, an increasing number of scholars have turned their attention to the social aspects of Mennonite life. Because of certain unique religious beliefs and practices, Mennonites have attracted the attention of scholars and writers outside their own ranks. This is particularly true with respect to the Amish, who have frequently been the subject of ethnological studies and literary treatises.[2] Curiosity itself has probably been a frequent motivating factor in the selection of conservative Mennonite groups for special study. More fundamental purposes have motivated other studies. Walter Kollmorgen's study of the Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, was prompted by an interest of the United States Department of Agriculture in discovering, describing, and promoting rural community solidarity in the nation.[3] The study by E. K. Francis of the Mennonites of Manitoba was prompted by an interest on the part of the Canadian government to determine how well the Mennonites were being integrated into Canadian national life.[4]

A combination of motivations has prompted Mennonite schol-

2 For an indication of the large number of works on the Amish, see John A. Hostetler, *Annotated Bibligraphy on the Amish* (Scottdale, 1951).

3 Walter M. Kollmorgen, *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania* (Rural Life Studies No. 4, U.S. Department of Agriculture, September, 1942).

4 E. K. Francis, *In Search of Utopia* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956).

ars to study the social and cultural aspects of their own groups. Among these are (1) a concern for strengthening Mennonite rural community life; (2) a concern over the possibly disintegrating effects of urbanization on Mennonite beliefs and practices; (3) a desire to understand the nature and extent of the process of assimilation of Mennonites into the dominant American cultural pattern; and (4) a desire to discover how Christian social relationships may be more generally expressed within the Mennonite brotherhood, and in relation to other groups and to society at large.

Several specific movements point up the rising interest in social and cultural aspects of Mennonite life:

(1) The program of alternative service during World War II stimulated interest in the relation of Mennonites to the larger society.

(2) The annual Conference (now biennial) on Mennonite Cultural Problems was initiated in 1942 by members of the faculties of the several Mennonite colleges.

(3) The Committee on Economic and Social Relations of the Mennonite Church, established in 1939, has given increasing attention to the application of Christian ethics within the framework of the Christian community. Through a series of annual conferences on Christian Community Relations, beginning in 1945, the committee has stimulated local interest in the social expression of the Mennonite faith.

(4) In 1946, the publication of *Mennonite Life,* an illustrated quarterly magazine "published in the interest of the best in the religious, social, and economic phases of Mennonite culture," was begun at Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas.

(5) From 1947 through 1953, the Mennonite Community Association and the Mennonite Publishing House published the *Mennonite Community,* a monthly magazine devoted to the purpose of developing stronger Mennonite community life. The monthly magazine *Christian Living* continues many of the interests and emphases of the *Mennonite Community,* focusing on home and community living.

(6) The Mennonite Research Foundation, founded in 1947 by the Mennonite Board of Education of the Mennonite Church, has carried out a number of research projects of a sociological nature along with its program of research in Mennonite history.

(7) The *Mennonite Quarterly Review,* founded in 1927, publishes occasional articles on the sociology of Mennonites, along with its scholarly articles on Mennonite history and theology.

(8) The *Mennonite Weekly Review,* the *Gospel Herald, The Mennonite,* and other official church organs have given increasing

attention to social questions in their popular articles for the wider church constituency.

As a result of these developments, many articles and a few books are now available on the social and economic aspects of Mennonite life. Considering that these have practically all been produced in the last fifteen years, one is struck with the rapid growth of interest in this area. Furthermore, the trend is likely to continue if social science departments share proportionately in the expected rise of college student enrollments, and also as the church continues to call increasing numbers of young people into vocations where a basic understanding of human relations is a definite asset.

A word may be added concerning the nature of a sociological study. Sociology involves a subject-matter field, a viewpoint, and a method. Correspondingly, a sociological study concerning Mennonites may be so identified if it (1) deals with a topic normally treated within the discipline of sociology; (2) makes use of the concepts, principles, and generalizations which are current in sociological theory and research; and (3) employs one or more of the standard methods of research used in the field. The following proposed classification of research topics illustrates the topics and concepts which are employed in the field of sociology. Reference to social research methods, and the role of statistics in social research, is made in a later section of this paper.

It is difficult and possibly unnecessary to attempt to draw clear lines between the sociological approach and historical, theological, or other particular approaches. There always is overlapping among approaches, even as there is overlapping in subject-matter fields. Each of the fields of social science overlaps with other fields, and yet distinguishing features in subject matter and methods are clearly evident. This overlapping is sometimes regarded as wasteful duplication of effort. On the contrary, it is highly desirable, even necessary, that scholars from different disciplines stimulate each other. This cross-fertilization is highly productive of new insights and hypotheses. With reference to the sociology of Mennonites, the most fruitful results are likely to be obtained when sociologists, theologians, historians, educators, ministers, physicians, economists, home economists, psychologists, and members of other disciplines or occupations join forces in bringing together the particular advantages and insights which each discipline has to contribute to the study of contemporary Mennonite life.

A continual interchange between Mennonite and non-Mennonite scholars is also important. The non-Mennonite scholar has cer-

tain training, perspective, and objectivity that enables him to contribute insights, emphases, and criticisms which Mennonites themselves may easily overlook. The sociology of Mennonites will be greatly enhanced through the frequent appearance of such works as those by Kollmorgen, Francis, and Eaton,[5] and through encouragement such as was given by the late O. E. Baker.

2. A Classification of Topics for Research in Contemporary Mennonite Life

Previous reference was made to the value of classifying research topics in order that a specific study may be seen in relation to some larger integrated whole. It is hoped that the following proposed classification may serve that purpose. In addition, the listing of topics may serve to suggest studies to students who are seeking topics of interest to them. Obviously the list of topics is far from exhaustive. Those indicated were derived from surveying the studies which have already been made, together with the writer's own notions of topics that might possibly be studied. The list includes topics that may not be researchable. That is, the data necessary for the study of such a topic may be unavailable, or very difficult or impossible to obtain. To be sure, there may exist some common-sense, philosophical, or speculative "knowledge" on each subject listed. But research is something different from the accumulation of common-sense or speculative statements on a topic.

Arriving at a useful classificational scheme is a difficult problem. Any one person's scheme is very likely not to satisfy fully the needs or viewpoint of another person. The classification proposed is based on concepts and subject-matter areas common to sociological literature. The major breakdown is between (1) the social organization and institutions of Mennonites, and (2) social processes affecting Mennonite life and thought. This division was first pointed out over 100 years ago by Auguste Comte, sometimes referred to as the "father of sociology." Comte's treatment of society was divided into "social statistics" and "social dynamics." The former referred to the study of the organizational or institutional structure of society at a point of time. The latter referred to the study of the changing aspects of society, the social processes. This breakdown of subject matter is still widely employed in the organization of sociology textbooks.

A problem approach might have been used in classifying topics. This would emphasize problems of current concern to Mennonites,

5 See Joseph Eaton and Robert J. Weil, *Culture and Mental Disorders: A Comparative Study of the Hutterites and Other Populations* (Glencoe, 1955).

but would render it more difficult to classify topics which are not particularly problematical. Social ethics does not appear as a separate heading at any point. This does not mean that the matter has been overlooked. It was felt that ethical concerns would appear in most, if not all, of the areas classified. A research study giving attention to some ethical problem would thus be classified according to the topic to which the ethical concern is related.

A. *The Social Organization of Mennonites*

1. *Characteristics of the Mennonite Population*

Age distributions
Sex ratios
Educational levels
Marital status
Income levels
Birth rates and fertility ratios
Mortality and morbidity rates
Racial and nationality composition
Residence: Rural and urban
Occupational distribution

2. *Mennonite Community Organization*

Rural community residence patterns
Urban community residence patterns
Formal community organizations
Informal clubs and associations
Forces tending to weaken the community
Factors contributing to the strength of the Mennonite community
Stewardship ideals in relation to soil and community
Significant differences between large and small communities

3. *The Mennonite Family*

Courtship patterns and problems
Age at marriage
The marriage ceremony
Family worship
Religious instruction of children
Parent-child relations
Authority patterns in the home
Child discipline
Sex education of children
Size of families and spacing of children
Adoptions and foster care of children
Family instability, separation and divorce
Marriage with non-Mennonites
Family recreation
Family housing
Family traditions
Inheritance patterns
Conflict in the home
Family financial problems
Strength of the kinship group
Role of the aged among Mennonites
Care of the aged
Assistance by parents to children at the time of marriage and after
Husband and wife satisfaction with occupational roles
Wives and mothers working outside the home
The child's emotional and social development
Number, characteristics, and problems of the unmarried

4. *Social Differentiation and Stratification Among Mennonites*

Race and nationality differences among Mennonites
Evidences of segregation and discrimination
Efforts at racial integration among Mennonites
Social class differences among Mennonites
Wealth accumulation and increasing stratification

Educational attainment and stratification
The use and avoidance of status-designating titles

5. *Social Aspects of Denominational Organization*
The sources of power and authority in a Mennonite body
The exercise of power and authority in church conferences
The nature and extent of bureaucratic forms in conference organization and administration
Official and unofficial interaction between Mennonite denominations
Official and unofficial interaction between Mennonite and non-Mennonite denominations
The quality and training of denominational leadership
Trends in the centralization of denominational control
Quasi-denominational professional associations: medical, nursing, teaching, etc.
Denominational youth organization

6. *Social Aspects of Local Church Organization and Administration*
The functional roles in local church organization
Status differentiation on the basis of functional roles
The location, strength, and exercise of authority in the local congregation
The role of laymen, women, and youth in local church organization and activities
The use of church councils and other democratic forms in local church administration
Social factors in the decline and death of local churches
Social factors in the unusual growth of some congregations

7. *Educational Institutions*
The number, location, and nature of church-controlled schools and colleges
Acceptance among Mennonites of their own educational programs
Attitudes toward higher education
Characteristics of Mennonite youth attending church schools
Mennonite students in attendance at non-Mennonite colleges and universities
Inter-Mennonite educational and cultural activities
Research programs and interests
Adult education among Mennonites

8. *Recreational Patterns and Use of Leisure*
Use of leisure time by Mennonites
Mennonites and the mass media: radio, television, movies, newspapers, popular literature
The reading habits of Mennonites
Attitude toward, and participation in, athletics
The development of church-related athletic teams and leagues
Attitude toward, and participation in, public amusements
Camping as a Mennonite leisure-time pursuit

9. *Technology and Economic Activities Among Mennonites*
Mennonites in commercial and industrial enterprises
Mennonites and investments
Labor-management relations in Mennonite-operated industries
Resistances to technological innovations

Influence of technology and economic activity on Mennonite beliefs and practices
Mennonites and co-operatives
Home ownership patterns
Farm ownership and size of holdings
Land tenure

10. *Health and Welfare Institutions*
Homes for the aged
Child welfare programs and institutions
General hospitals
Mental hospitals
Girls' homes
Invalid homes
Mental health among Mennonites
Mennonite health practices
Growth of Mennonite interest in welfare programs
Mennonites and social work as a vocation

11. *Social Aspects of Mennonite Mission Work and Church Extension*
Problems of intercultural contact on the foreign mission field
The relation of unique religious practices to church growth
Social factors in the accretions to Mennonite church membership
Social factors in the losses of Mennonite membership
Sociological problems in urban mission work
Mennonites in relief work
The voluntary service programs
The assimilation of foreign and city mission converts into the Mennonite social fabric

12. *Miscellaneous Mennonite Cultural Traits, Customs, and Mores*
Language customs and changes
Dress mores
The growth and use of tobacco
Attitudes toward intoxicating beverages
Funeral and burial practices

B. *Social Processes Affecting Mennonite Life and Thought*

13. *Urbanization*
Trends in Mennonite residence patterns
Effect of urbanization on fertility
Effect of urbanization on family relations
Occupational trends resulting from urbanization
Effect of urbanization on church life and fellowship
Effects of urbanization on unique Mennonite customs and traditions

14. *Co-operation Among Mennonites*
Mutual aid organizations and practices
Co-operation in relief and service activities
Local disaster units
Interdenominational committees and conferences
Movements toward increased integration of activities among Mennonites

15. *Competition and Conflict Among Mennonites*
Evidences of competition and conflict

Conflict as related to differences in religious practice
The behavior sequence of a church split
Personality factors in the occurrence of church disputes and schisms
The liberal-conservative continuum in group life as a theoretical basis for the explanation of conflict and schism
How achieve the practice of nonresistance in interpersonal relations
Methods for the resolution of intra-congregation and interchurch tension

16. *Segregation Between Mennonites and non-Mennonites*

Manifestations of in-group and out-group feelings
Effects of geographic and cultural isolation on Mennonite beliefs and practices
Prejudice on the part of Mennonites toward non-Mennonites
Prejudice of non-Mennonites toward Mennonites
Ethnocentrism: its strengths and weaknesses
The doctrine of separation and its application to social life
Cultural devices for emphasizing segregation from the world

17. *Accommodation of Mennonites to the Surrounding Culture*

Mennonite integration into the business structure of the local community
The relation of Mennonites to organized labor
The relation of Mennonites to national business, farmer, and professional organizations
Membership of Mennonites in primarily non-Mennonite local community associations
Mennonite participation in local politics
Accommodation in relation to the public schools
Co-operation of Mennonite churches with other churches in the local community
Contributions of Mennonites to the larger society
Relationship to state and federal government programs: agriculture, welfare, military service, bond drives, etc.
Alternative service programs in wartime as accommodation
Minority-group inferiority complex and its relation to accommodation and participation in primarily non-Mennonite community organizations

18. *Assimilation of Mennonites into the Surrounding Culture*

The process of assimilation as related to Mennonites as a minority group
Degree of assimilation as an explanation of differences between Mennonites
How evaluate assimilation? What is desirable and what undesirable?
Modern communication devices and their relation to the assimilation of Mennonites
The role of the public schools in the assimilation process
The role of higher education in the assimilation process
Outside influences on Mennonite doctrine and practice
Efforts to stem assimilation: Christian schools, limitations on education (Amish), migration
Secularization as a product of forces from without and from within
The relation of urbanism and economic prosperity to assimilation

19. *Mobility*
   - International migration of Mennonites
   - Rural to urban migration
   - Mobility patterns as related to the growth and decline of local churches
   - Problems of membership mobility in churches in metropolitan areas
   - Social class mobility as related to wealth accumulation and educational attainment
   - Social class mobility as a factor in transfer of local church membership

20. *Social Control Among Mennonites*
   - Expectations of social conformity within the different Mennonite denominations
   - Informal pressures to group conformity
   - Formal methods of control and church discipline
   - The use of the "ban" among conservative groups
   - Close communion as a device for social control
   - Innovation: possibilities and limitations
   - Tolerance and the love ethic in relation to methods of social control
   - Authoritarianism versus democracy in Mennonite social organization

21. *Personality Formation Within Mennonite Culture*
   - Mennonite patterns of authority and discipline as related to personality development
   - The development of nonresistance and love as personality traits
   - The effects of intercultural conflict upon personality development of children
   - The causes of hostility, personal disorganization, and deviancy among Mennonites
   - Effective approaches in the inculcation of ideas of nonconformity
   - Problems in the transfer of Mennonite ideals from one generation to the next

3. A Survey of the Literature on the Sociology of Mennonites

In this section is presented a survey of research and writing on the sociology of Mennonites. The 21 major topics in the classification above will provide the framework for the summary. An attempt is made to refer to all the items in the bibliography which come under each heading. Some suggestions for further research are given. No attempt is made to review or evaluate the works cited. The purpose is merely to give a general indication of what items on each of the classified topics are available to the researcher. All works referred to appear in the bibliography in the last section of this paper. References are indicated by the use of numbers in parentheses, indicating the number of the listed item in the bibliography.

A number of general works on Mennonite, Amish, and Hutterite groups are valuable for the student of the sociology of Mennonites. These are written by historians, ethnographers, sociologists, theologians, and others. Since the general works cannot be pigeonholed under one or two of the classified topics, they will be mentioned

separately at this point. The Amish have been the most extensively studied of Mennonite groups. The most scholarly study is that by Kollmorgen (190). Other scholarly works are those by Umble (370), Stoltzfus (348), Beachy (18), Schrock (310), Bachman (9), Getz (106), Leeper (215), and Miller (249). Yoder (395) renders a critical treatment of Amish traditions. Valuable, but less accurate general works on the Amish are those by Aurand (8), Hayes (131), Klees (185), and Klein (186). The most accurate and sympathetic popular treatment on the Amish is given by Hostetler (149). Other popular articles are (260) (269) (305) and (343). Horsch's book (145) is the standard historical work on the Hutterites. An exhaustive socio-psychological study (60) of the Hutterites in the United States and Canada was made recently by a team of researchers under the direction of sociologist Joseph Eaton. Other studies on the Hutterites are by Clark (43), Deets (51), Hofer (140), Steele (345), and Waldner (376). Wright (390) has briefly sketched Hutterian settlements in South America.

An excellent sociological study of Mennonite settlements in South America was made by Fretz (94). Smith (330) interestingly portrays Mennonites in South America. A popular summary of Mennonites in Mexico is given by Schmiedehaus (303). Mennonites in European countries are discussed in (105) (236) (203) (38) (47) (126) (206) (241) (307) and (388). Rempel's dissertation (296) is excellent on the economic and political aspects of Mennonite life in Russia from 1789 to 1914. The recent book by Francis (74) is a valuable sociological study of the cultural patterns of Manitoba Mennonites and their adjustment to Canadian national life. Other studies on Canadian Mennonites are by Dawson (49), Driedger (54), Graeff (122), Shelley (316), and Unger (371).

Smith's standard historical work (327) on the Mennonites contains sketches of the social life of Mennonites. Gingerich (111) has excellent chapters on social and economic aspects of Mennonite life in Iowa. Mennonite communities in Nebraska (302) and South Dakota (373) have been described. Works by Lohrentz (226) (227), Toews (362), and Wiens (389) give particular attention to the Mennonite Brethren churches. Pannabecker (277) does the same for the General Conference Mennonites. A scholarly overview of contemporary Mennonitism is given by Smucker (332), and, in popular style, Hostetler (153) sympathetically summarizes Mennonitism for the American reading public. Treatises on Mennonites as unique sect groups are given by Clark (44), Ludwig (230), Rosenberger (300), and Dorothy Thompson (361).

1. *Characteristics of the Mennonite Population.*

The United States Census does not require a person to report his church membership. Consequently the characteristics of the population of a church group can be determined only by private research, or through statistics compiled by denominational headquarters. Most denominations keep records on number of church members, but information on age, sex, education, marital status, residence, occupation, etc., is normally lacking. In 1950 the Mennonite Research Foundation endeavored to take a census of all families in the Mennonite Church (MC). Incomplete returns provide a basis for estimates of certain characteristics of the Mennonite population studied. The data have been summarized in a number of unpublished papers. Lind (223) studied birth rates, size of families, and age at marriage. Liechty (220) analyzed Mennonite educational levels. Gingerich (114) summarized occupations of Mennonite men. Some information on Mennonite income levels is reported by Gingerich (108).

The most exhaustive study of a group is that on the Hutterites reported by Eaton and Mayer (59). The entire Hutterite population was analyzed, giving age, sex, birth rate, death rate, and marriage rate data. A paper by Neufeld (267) provides population data on two church congregations in Kansas. The works of Peachey (280) and Dedic (50) provide occupational data on the early Anabaptists, thus permitting interesting comparisons with present-day occupational distributions.

2. *Mennonite Community Organization.*

During the past 10 years, *Mennonite Life* and *Mennonite Community* published more than 50 illustrated articles on local Mennonite communities. Most of these are listed in the bibliography. Although these articles are popular in style and sometimes quite brief, they indicate a pattern of origin, growth, economic development, church life, and increasing urbanization and industrialization which characterizes the industry and thrift of Mennonite communities. More extended studies of Mennonite community organization are those by Houghton (162), Janzen (165), Kauffman (176), Spaulding (341), Miller (248), and Schreiber (306). Krahn has described Mennonite community life in Russia (195). Perhaps a general treatise on "the Mennonite Community" could now be abstracted from these many accounts. A series of papers, (70) (109) (121) (133) (134) (136) (175) (208) (259) and (265), sets forth the ideals and goals which inspire Mennonite community builders. They also point to the forces which tend to weaken community life.

3. *The Mennonite Family.*

Two master's theses have been devoted to the study of the family, Luella Smith's general treatise on General Conference Mennonite family patterns in Illinois (328), and Hostetler's empirical study of the Amish family in Mifflin County, Pennsylvania (157). Papers by Shank (313) and Good (118) attempt to arrive empirically at trends in family life among Mennonites in Elkhart County, Indiana. Amish and Mennonite wedding practices were the subjects of papers by Shelton (319) and Swartzendruber (360) respectively. A statement on church weddings by the Indiana-Michigan Christian Workers' Conference in 1955 sets forth Mennonite principles of simplicity in relation to weddings (124). The question of occasional divorce among Mennonites and how to deal with it has been investigated by Fretz (97), King (183), and Wenger (380). One paper (267) deals with Mennonite family patterns in two Kansas churches. A study by Miller (254) presents empirical data on courtship practices and sex education among a group of Mennonite (MC) youth. Two papers (271) (309) deal with woman's place among the Amish.

The highly personal and intimate nature of family relations renders it more difficult to study the Mennonite family than the Mennonite community. Yet, as in all cultures, the family is perhaps the most significant aspect of the social and spiritual life of Mennonites. There is a need to become more aware of the strengths and weaknesses in Mennonite family patterns, and the effects of social trends on Mennonite family life. The writer of this paper is currently engaged in a research project on the Mennonite family. The study is designed to reveal the effects of modern family trends on husband-wife adjustment and parent-child relationships.

4. *Social Differentiation and Stratification Among Mennonites.*

There has been no study of social class levels among Mennonites. Data on income levels among Mennonites (MC) indicates a wide range of incomes (and presumably accumulated wealth). What are the socio-psychological effects of the apparently increasing range between rich and poor on the sense of fellowship and unity between members of the church? What effects do large differentials in educational achievement have on the maintenance of church fellowship? Mennonite mission work among colored peoples in this country and abroad has introduced the problem of white-colored relations within the churches. The proceedings of a recent conference on race relations (41) indicate the presence of race prejudice, but also point up the desire for complete equality and integration of colored elements

into the church. Two papers (257) (350) by college students review the problems and achievements in Mennonite mission work among Negroes.

5. *Social Aspects of Denominational Organization.*

Little has been done in bringing the insights of sociology and social psychology to bear on the social aspects of church-wide organization among Mennonites. Items on church government appear in (42) (210) (213) and (237). The nature of the church is discussed in (24) (224) and (287). The historic roles of bishop and elder are treated by Bender (25) and Krahn (198). The position of the Mennonite Church (MC) on interdenominational contacts is discussed by Musselman (264). Papers by Shenk (320) and Musselman (263) treat aspects of church-wide youth programs among Mennonites (MC). In view of current shifts from authoritarianism to increasing democracy in church life on the one hand, and seemingly inevitable trends to centralization of church-wide functions on the other hand, there would seem to be reason for a serious socio-psychological study of leadership roles, distribution of power and authority, and democratic procedures in Mennonite conference organization, and in local churches as well.

6. *Social Aspects of Local Church Organization and Administration.*

Studies in this area include Hostetler's summary of Amish problems in the local congregation (150), a paper on participation of laymen in the church (146), a paper by Flisher on financing the local congregation (73), and Ediger's article on the Mennonite approach to worship (63). Ulrich studied youth activities in local Illinois churches (364). Factors in the decline and death of churches are discussed by Umble (365) (366), Steiner (346), and Mook (261). A study currently in progress at the Mennonite Research Foundation is on the role of unmarried women in local congregations and church-wide activities among Mennonites (MC). Included in the study are data on the occupations, income, education, and personal interests of unmarried women.

7. *Educational Institutions.*

The opposition of the Amish to education above the eighth grade has received considerable public attention. Items range from popular news items to graduate theses. Included in the bibliography are six items: (4) (64) (221) (282) (301) and (323). General treatises on education among the Mennonites are those by Harder (128) and Hartzler (130). Peters limits his study on education to Mennonites

in Kansas (283). Friesen (103) and Francis (80) refer to Mennonite educational problems in Canada. Redekop (290) and Enns (68) have papers on Mennonite education in Russia. Among Mennonites (MC), Fretz deals with Winter Bible Schools (84), and Lederach's dissertation (214) is on religious education. Three papers deal with Mennonites and church-controlled schools, (127) (139) and (266). Histories of Mennonite institutions of higher education include Bluffton College (30), Umble on Goshen College (367), Waldner on Freeman Junior College (375), Wedel on Bethel College (378), and Maude Swartzendruber's paper on the La Junta School of Nursing (359). Contributions toward a philosophy of Mennonite higher education appear in articles by Bender (22), Erb (69), Miller (252), and Mininger (258).

8. *Recreational Patterns and Use of Leisure.*

An article on this general subject by Gingerich (112) appeared in 1945. Just prior to World War II, two studies on the use of radios in the homes of Mennonites (MC) appeared, Miller's study in Indiana and Michigan (253) and Zehr's similar study in Illinois (398). Two studies on athletics in Mennonite churches and schools are reported by Oswald (273) and the Mennonite Research Foundation (354). Edith Herr's thesis involved a study of camping programs at two church camps (132). It would seem that more should be known about how well Mennonites make use of their increasing amounts of leisure time.

9. *Technology and Economic Activities Among Mennonites.*

The reputation of Amish and Mennonites for their good farming practices is widely known. Two popular articles by Knoop (187) (188) praise the Amish farmers of Lancaster County. Getz (107) also discusses Amish farming in Lancaster County. Two articles (244) (292) report the introduction of the hardy Red Turkey wheat from Russia by Kansas Mennonites. A series of articles, (123) (174) (207) (217) (218) (219) (288) (379) (385), report on farming and manufacturing industries among Mennonites in a number of small communities. A brief article by Kollmorgen (191) discusses the role of Mennonites in agriculture. Mennonite agriculture in Russia is discussed by Krahn (193); in the Paraguayan Chaco, by Klassen (184); and in Manitoba, by Francis (77). Two theses indicate the relation of geographic factors to the economic development and technology of Mennonite settlements: the Mennonites in Paraguay by Krause (199), and the Amish at Arthur, Illinois, by Ebisch (62). Three papers by

Raid (289), Schmucker (304), and Yordy (397) deal with Mennonite home ownership and land ownership.

The increase in Mennonite-owned and operated businesses is indicated by the *Directory of Mennonite Employers* (53) compiled by the Mennonite Research Foundation. Nearly 350 employers are listed, and the list includes almost exclusively businesses operated by members of the Mennonite Church (MC). Kanagy (171) studied methods used by Mennonite employers to maintain good labor relations in a sample of Mennonite (MC) industries. Leatherman (212) obtained Mennonite employer responses on ethical problems faced in business. Mennonite attitudes on the labor union question are indicated in (3) (222) and (297). Mennonite ethical concerns in economics and business are also indicated in (91) (108) (200) and (335). The total impact of an industrial and commercial atmosphere on Mennonite religious beliefs and practices is difficult to assess, but is greatly in need of study.

10. *Health and Welfare Institutions.*

Mennonite concern for the welfare of needy classes of individuals has led to an amazing growth in the number of health and welfare institutions operated by Mennonites. A study by Shelley in 1953 (314), covering all Mennonite groups in the United States and Canada, lists 27 old people's homes, 15 general hospitals, five mental hospitals, seven children's homes, five girls' homes, and two invalid homes operated by Mennonites. The programs at two old people's homes are reported in (143) and (356). Child welfare programs are reported in (116) (286) and (358). The interest of Mennonites in mental health programs is told in (243) and (334). Amstutz (5) presents observations on Mennonite health practices, and Yoder (391) gives data on the number of handicapped children among Mennonites (MC) in Indiana and Michigan. Good (120) reports on Mennonites in Ontario and the Canadian Public Welfare program. Bixler's paper (28) is concerned with Mennonite retirement plans.

11. *Social Aspects of Mennonite Mission Work and Church Extension.*

A knowledge of the social problems related to Mennonite mission work must be gleaned by reviewing the reports from the mission fields. Among the more helpful of the reports on the missions in India are (19) (119) (229) (232) (239) and (387). The Puerto Rico field is treated by Amstutz (6), Holsinger (142), and Lauver (211). Mission work among Indians in America is discussed in (36) and (242). A major analysis of the developing interest among Mennonites

in mission work is provided by Kaufman (178). His work gives major attention to the General Conference Mennonites, but includes also several other branches. Social factors related to membership losses and gains among Mennonites (MC) have been studied by Hostetler (158) (160). Brenneman investigates the bearing of distinctive doctrines on the success of Mennonite outreach (34), and Umble does the same for ethnic prejudice (369). In recent years, much interest has been shown in evangelistic outreach through the medium of radio. This interest is reported in four papers, (246) (315) (340) and (351). Items on mission work in large cities are listed under the section on "urbanization," which follows.

12. *Miscellaneous Mennonite Cultural Traits, Customs, and Mores.*

Bibliography items coming under this classification include two items on language (102) (275); three on Amish and Mennonite dress customs and doctrine (164) (251) and (381); one on Mennonites and tobacco (99); and two on Mennonite funeral and burial practices (172) (173). Hostetler's article (156) indicates increasing interest in the rich cultural heritage of the Pennsylvania Germans.

13. *Urbanization.*

The process of urbanization touches areas covered above and some which follow. The proportion of Mennonites living in rural farm, rural nonfarm, and urban areas is not definitely known, and has been crudely estimated for some Mennonite groups from data on occupations. It is generally known that the proportion living in towns and cities is increasing, but precise data are lacking. The significance of urbanization lies in its effects on the social and spiritual life of Mennonite families and churches, an effect not yet clearly understood. Baehr (11) (12) (13) indicates a positive relation between urbanization and secularization among the several Mennonite groups in Elkhart County, Indiana. Similar relationships are studied in Brunk's work (35). Baker (15) infers changes among Mennonites from his examination of the effects of urbanization on the larger population. Fisher's paper (71) on new industries coming into Mennonite communities in eastern Pennsylvania tells a story of what is happening in many other Mennonite communities. The peculiar problems of building churches in large cities are described in (83) (85) (147) (238) (274) and (399).

14. *Co-operation Among Mennonites.*

The Mennonite Central Committee (235) (372) represents the largest co-operative venture among the several Mennonite groups. The program of relief and service in foreign countries has had the

effect of stimulating co-operation among Mennonites in local disaster service programs (2) (256). The work of the Mennonite Central Committee in alternative service programs is referred to in the section on accommodation. Within the separate Mennonite groups extensive programs of mutual aid are found. The Mennonite Research Foundation has compiled a directory of 63 Mennonite insurance and mutual aid organizations. These programs of mutual aid are reviewed in (45) and (322). The most extensive study of Mennonite mutual aid practices has been made by Frètz (86) (87) (90) (92) (93). Increased co-operation between American and European Mennonites is indicated by Stucky (352) and Krahn (196).

15. *Competition and Conflict Among Mennonites.*

In view of the frequent occurrence of conflict and schisms in Mennonite denominations and local churches, it is amazing that the problem remains virtually unexplored. To be sure, church historians have related the events connected with the numerous church splits, but there is an urgent need for an analysis of the factors that go into the making of, and the prevention of, a schism. The detection and arrest of schisms in their incipient stages would seem to be very important. Only two brief papers have directed attention to the problems of conflict and schism, one on Mennonites (179) and one on the Hutterites (52).

16. *Segregation Between Mennonites and non-Mennonites.*

The degree of geographic and social segregation or isolation has an important relation to the maintenance of a cultural pattern of beliefs and practices. Attachment to the "in-group" and suspicion of the "out-group" normally characterize minority groups which are sharply differentiated from the larger society. Fletcher's thesis (72) relates geographic isolation to the maintenance of self-sufficient Amish communities. Yoder's thesis (394) discusses social isolation devices used by the Amish. Francis (78) points out the results of social isolation on the character of the Mennonite communities in Russia. In view of the Christian ideal of treating all men as neighbors and equals, how do Mennonites feel toward members of other races and nationality groups? Roy Just obtained empirical data which helps answer this question (166) (167) (168).

17. *Accommodation of Mennonites to the Surrounding Culture.*

A minority group is always faced with the problem of getting along with the larger society. Accommodation and assimilation are terms used by sociologists to refer to the process of adjustment between a minority group and the majority group. Accommodation

refers to the establishment of a working relationship between groups without either group losing its identity. If assimilation takes place, the groups become more alike. This normally means that the smaller group is being absorbed by the larger group, thereby gradually losing its identity. Much has been written concerning accommodation and assimilation of Mennonites. Unfortunately many writers have been confused as to the meaning of the terms, thereby often not using them correctly. Of course, both processes may be at work at once, but often not. The alternative service program for conscientious objectors in wartime illustrates the process of accommodation of a minority group to the military demands of the state. Assimilation is evidenced when Mennonites enter the armed forces. The accommodation of Mennonites to the military demands of the state has received wide coverage. Hershberger's books (137) (138) are standard works on the subject. The Civilian Public Service and I-W programs are described in (1) (40) (104) (110) and (311).

The difficulties of the Amish in adjusting to the educational demands of the state were referred to under the previous heading "educational institutions." General efforts by the Amish to retain their distinctive ways are treated in (31) (65) (125) (189) and (285). Inability of Mennonites to accommodate, resulting in migration and colonization of new areas, is covered in a later section on mobility of Mennonites. The broader aspects of the relations of church to state and society in the Anabaptist-Mennonite tradition are covered by Bender (21), Correll (46), Francis (81) (82), Littell (224), Hoover (144), Krahn (197), Kreider (204), Pannabecker (276), and Smith (325). The accommodation of Hutterites to Canadian national life is treated in (56) and (163).

Articles by Francis (75) and Gingerich (113), and a thesis by Dyck (55), suggest Mennonite contributions to the larger society. Previous mention has been made of Mennonite contributions to American agriculture. The relations of Nebraska Mennonites in Seward County to other ethnic groups in their area are briefly treated in a Nebraska Experiment Station Bulletin (7).

Umble's article on an Amish court case (368), and an item on the Amish attitude toward social security programs (295) illustrate other areas of accommodation. Little is known about the extent of Mennonite participation in local and national business and professional organizations, labor unions, farm organizations, federal agricultural programs, government welfare programs, local politics and voting, and interdenominational co-operation with other Protestant churches in local communities.

18. *Assimilation of Mennonites into the Surrounding Culture.*

Since accommodation and assimilation are so often treated together, the division of works between this and the previous category is quite arbitrary. Nevertheless, in this section are listed the items in which the writer's main focus appeared to be on assimilation, i.e., the loss of distinctive traits and beliefs. Included in the bibliography are items on cultural changes among the Amish (151) (152) (154) and (247); among the Hutterites (57); among Mennonites (MC) in Illinois (216); among General Conference Mennonites in Mt. Lake, Minnesota (291) and in eastern Pennsylvania (96); and Mennonite groups in Elkhart County, Indiana (11) (12) (13). A thesis by Vos (374) is on changes among Mennonites. Outside influences on Mennonite religious thought are treated by Bender (23) and Studer (353). Smucker sees public schools as a factor in assimilation of Mennonites (333). Kreider (201) (202) points up factors leading to the loss of the nonresistant position. Assimilation in reference to the English language was studied by Landis (209).

19. *Mobility.*

The story of Mennonite migrations in search of religious liberty is both tragic and thrilling. This aspect of world Mennonitism has been well told. General works are those by Fretz (88) and Yoder (396). Colonization in Canada is briefly treated in (233), and more extensively in (74); colonization in Mexico by Fretz (89) and Reimer (294); and in Paraguay (26) (141) (240) (281) (284) and (386). The standard work on the Paraguayan colonists is by Fretz (94). Excellent accounts of the migration of Russian Mennonites to the United States and Canada are given in Krahn (editor) (194) and the very recent work by Reimer and Gaeddert (293).

20. *Social Control Among Mennonites.*

The socio-psychological aspects of Mennonite church government and church discipline are relatively unexplored. Shelley's dissertation (318) touches on the problem. The use of the ban by Amish and early Mennonites is treated by Bauman (17) and Yoder (393) and is recorded by Mennonite historians. Much has been written on the nature of Biblical nonconformity, but we have little understanding of the relation of varying methods of social control to the maintenance of nonconformity patterns. A study of the relation of informal controls to the maintenance of unique religious beliefs and practices is needed.

21. *Personality Formation Within Mennonite Culture.*

The tendency for a cultural pattern to place a definite stamp on the personality of an individual who grows up within it is widely recognized by psychologists and cultural anthropologists. What imprint is left on personalities in Amish and Mennonite cultures? Using personality inventories, Engle (66) (67) and Stuffle (355) have compared Amish with non-Amish children. Kalhorn (169) (170) compared the values of Mennonite and non-Mennonite children in Iowa. The study of the mental health of the Hutterites by Eaton and his associates (58) (60) (61) indicates that the high level of cultural integration among the Hutterites results in unusually low rates of mental disorder. Siegel (324) comments on this hypothesis. The well-known Harvard sociologist, P. A. Sorokin, in recent years has been studying the nature and sources of altruism in human relations (338) (339). His studies led him to give some attention to Hutterites and Mennonites. Schmidt (312) raises the question whether conscientious objectors have unique personality traits. Loux (228) accepts the value of Christian simplicity but points out that the methods of application of the principle among Mennonites have not always been sound.

In reflecting on the literature related to the sociology of Mennonites one is impressed with the amount already written. Of course, many of the studies are lacking in empirical evidence for the conclusions reached. Some items tend to be highly generalized, abstract, and often speculative. Nevertheless, even these are of some help in establishing a theoretical framework within which subsequent research can be fitted. The very important study of spiritual values and their application to human relations is not primarily an empirical matter. Meaning in life appears to be more a subjective than objective matter. The findings contributed by the objective methods of scientific investigation must always be interpreted in the light of spiritual and moral values. Nevertheless, the findings of science are extremely useful, and often necessary, in helping us understand what our values are, how we express them in social relations, and how they change. Let us hope that the coming years will provide increased empirical evidence on the nature and values of Mennonite life.

4. The Selection of Significant Topics for Research

The scope and number of topics for possible study are obviously too large to offer any hope for adequate coverage in the foreseeable future. It may be undesirable, or impossible, to carry out research on some of the topics in the classified list above. The topics vary with

respect to importance or significance. What are the most significant areas or topics for research on Mennonites? By what means or measure is significance determined? The first assumption we shall make is that a significant topic is one which is related to a problem. The latest treatises on social research design emphasize the importance of problem orientation. Research is significant if it throws light on the nature and extent of a problem, or suggests some possible solution to a problem. The gathering of data which are "interesting," but which have little relation to a problem, may be regarded as a waste of resources. The mere "lack of information" or "lack of knowledge" is not of itself a problem. This is the emphasis of Lynd as he applies it particularly to the social sciences:[6]

> The outstanding characteristic of a well-trained scientist is his ability to distinguish "significant" from "insignificant" problems and data. Good scientific training sensitizes one to important problems; it deliberately sets up before the imagination of the scientist a screen which lets through one type of data and bars another—in short, it gives the scientist a selective point of view. Research without an actively selective point of view becomes the ditty bag of an idiot, filled with bits of pebbles, straws, feathers, and other random hoardings. If nobody goes about endlessly counting throughout a lifetime the number of particles of sand along infinite miles of seashore over all the coasts of the world, why is this? Because there is no point to it, no need to complete this particular aspect of the jigsaw puzzle of the unknown.

A second assumption is that research resources (time, money, qualified personnel) are greatly limited, whereas problems are abundant. Therefore a selection must be made. Since problems vary in significance, those which are most significant should ordinarily be selected for study. What are the most significant problems in Mennonite thought and life?

First of all, sociological studies should attend to *current* problems. The historian is quite legitimately interested in some problem of the past. The sociologist, however, is concerned with a past problem only if it throws light on a current problem, or if it has recurred in some form in the present. Rural sociology mushroomed in the 1930's as a result of farm depression problems. With the coming of farm prosperity, rural sociologists shifted their attention to other problem areas. Likewise the problems of a church vary from time to time. A particular problem (such as the adjustment of Mennonites to the demands of the state in wartime) will grow or decline depending on the development of circumstances which gave rise to the problem. The significance of a problem depends on a set of value judg-

6 Robert S. Lynd, *Knowledge for What?* (Princeton, 1939), 183.

ments. Since individuals frequently differ in their value orientation, the notion of what is significant may vary from one person to another. Furthermore, individual circumstances or interests may attract one person to the study of a problem, while another person will be attracted to a different problem. How then can some agreement be reached as to what problems are most worthy of consideration?

There must be some central integrating factor, some *raison d'etre* for a sociology of Mennonites, which can serve as a basis for judging the significance of problems. May this not be found in the primary task of the Christian Church? Jesus' commission to His followers is: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." Let us therefore assume that a problem is anything which impedes, jeopardizes, or weakens the efforts of Mennonites to carry out this commission. The rationale for a sociology of Mennonites is the need for discovering, analyzing, and reporting the nature of the social and cultural factors which enhance or impede the accomplishment of the central task of the church. Carrying out the Great Commission by the Mennonite churches involves responsibilities in four directions: (1) toward its own members, to support, inspire, and motivate them to give their maximum support to the program of the church; (2) toward the children of its members, to train them up in the way they should go so that when they are old they will not depart from it; (3) toward Christians of other denominations, in giving and receiving encouragement and assistance in carrying out a common task; and (4) toward non-Christians, in meeting first of all their spiritual, but also their social and physical needs as the situation demands.

The possibility of carrying out responsibilities in these four directions is greatly dependent on the quality of Mennonite social and moral life. That is to say, our families, communities, and churches constitute the matrix from which spring the motives, the energy, and the moral, social, and economic resources for carrying out the Great Commission. Of course, the Great Commission cannot be carried out without the power of the Holy Spirit. Nevertheless, the Holy Spirit works through men, and He is limited when men fail to express Christian principles in their human relationships. Our families, communities, and churches represent certain values which must be guarded against loss. There is also the need for improving our social relations—making them more Christlike. We feel that somehow our values and goals in life are inextricably entwined with the group relationships we experience. Therefore to understand how our values and goals may be preserved, revised, and strengthened we

need to understand the group organization and processes with which our values are so interrelated.

In view of these and other considerations, the selection of a research topic may be prompted by one or more of the following motives:

(1) To inform Mennonites and non-Mennonites on some aspect of Mennonite group life.

(2) To correct some misinformation or false opinion concerning Mennonite life.

(3) To discover some situation or condition that tends to weaken the expression of Christian human relations among Mennonites.

(4) To discover some possible ways and means for improving our social relations.

(5) To discover some social condition that affects (positively or negatively) our efforts to carry out the Great Commission.

(6) To illuminate some value, principle, or technique of organization which may be promoted outside Mennonite circles.

(7) To solve some problem concerning the relation of Mennonites to the larger society.

In order to discover what are believed to be the most significant topics for research on Mennonites, the opinion of a number of Mennonite church leaders was obtained. The classified list of research topics above was sent to 50 ministers, college teachers, and church officials, 30 of whom responded. Each respondent was asked to select from the 21 main topics the five topics which he believed represented areas which are currently most in need of study. Following are the topics, with the number of persons selecting each topic indicated in parentheses:

1. Characteristics of the Mennonite Population (2)
2. Mennonite Community Organization (4)
3. The Mennonite Family (13)
4. Social Differentiation and Stratification Among Mennonites (1)
5. Social Aspects of Denominational Organization (18)
6. Social Aspects of Local Church Organization and Administration (16)
7. Educational Institutions (4)
8. Recreational Patterns and Use of Leisure (9)
9. Technology and Economic Activities Among Mennonites (6)
10. Health and Welfare Institutions (2)
11. Social Aspects of Mennonite Mission Work and Church Extension (14)
12. Miscellaneous Mennonite Cultural Traits, Customs, and Mores (0)
13. Urbanization (4)
14. Co-operation Among Mennonites (3)
15. Competition and Conflict Among Mennonites (7)
16. Segregation Between Mennonites and non-Mennonites (7)
17. Accommodation of Mennonites to the Surrounding Culture (15)

18. Assimilation of Mennonites into the Surrounding Culture (11)
19. Mobility (1)
20. Social Control Among Mennonites (5)
21. Personality Formation Within Mennonite Culture (16)

It should be noted that no attempt was made to get a random selection of persons into the sample. The 50 persons were arbitrarily selected as having an awareness of Mennonite church life and problems. Of the 30 who responded, 12 are college and seminary professors (six are ordained), 15 are pastors of local congregations (nearly all are seminary graduates), and three are church officials (also ordained). Nearly all are Mennonites (MC). Obviously a different sample would be expected to make somewhat different topic selections. If women were included, or non-Mennonites, or larger numbers of Mennonites of other branches, or a larger proportion of laymen, a different selection of topics might be expected. The best that can be said reliably about this group is that they represent an important group of Mennonite (MC) trained church leaders.

The topic selections indicate a strong interest in the study of the social aspects of denominational and local church organization and administration. This suggests that problems of authoritarianism and democracy in churches are especially acute at the present time. The survey also indicates a lively interest in the relation of unique Mennonite doctrines and practices to the program of mission work and church extension. The problems of accommodation and assimilation rate high in priority. The increase of contact and communication between Mennonites on the one hand, and other churches and the larger secular society on the other hand, forces a continuing re-evaluation of the role of Mennonites in society on all levels of local, national, and international relationships. The factors that lead to secularization and loss of members need to be more fully understood. Problems of the Mennonite family and of personality formation within Mennonite culture are also indicated as significant areas for study. These two topics are probably very closely related, since the process of personality formation is so closely related to what happens in the home. It is the writer's opinion that this area is greatly in need of study, especially in view of the paucity of such studies, and the probability that trends in church life are greatly dependent on the quality of home training and the social and spiritual development of the oncoming generation.

The fact that some topics received few votes should not be interpreted to mean that these were considered as insignificant. On the contrary, a number of the respondents indicated great difficulty in

arbitrarily selecting five topics from a list all of which appeared important for study. The arbitrary selection, of course, accomplished the purpose of obtaining a measure of the relative significance of the topics in the minds of the respondents. Much more could be said concerning the need for research on significant topics. It is hoped that increasing numbers of students both within and without the Mennonite brotherhood will be attracted to such studies as are suggested here. Knowledge of a problem, or even of its solution, does not guarantee the achievement of needed changes or improvements. Nevertheless, knowledge is an important first step, and every effort to add to our knowledge should be given every encouragement.

5. Some Methodological Considerations

The application of the scientific approach to the study of Mennonites is not without its hazards and problems. The scientist is supposed to be coldly analytical, objective, not biased toward any value orientation or viewpoint. On the other hand, a Christian has a definite bias (as he should have) in favor of the "nonscientific" truth given by divine revelation. Without losing the bias of his Christian faith, the Christian social scientist needs to conduct his research in a manner so as to avoid the pitfalls in the selection and interpretation of data which biases normally entail. A researcher must achieve objectivity in relation to subjective concerns and values. A certain amount of "stand-offishness" is required to study a group objectively and with the necessary perspective and detachment. The time interval between remote events and present study of them contributes to the perspective and detachment of the historian. The sociologist achieves perspective and detachment through a knowledge of the social "space interval" that differentiates his own culture from other cultures. That is, he enhances his understanding of the social organization and processes within his own group by studying the different organization and processes of other groups. If the objective study of one's own group would diminish one's loyalty to the Christian faith in all its purity and simplicity, a great loss would be sustained. It is the writer's faith that such need not occur, even though it is a possibility. If the scholarly study of Mennonite history can increase our loyalty to the Anabaptist-Mennonite heritage (as indeed it appears to have done), cannot the study of contemporary Mennonite life also do the same?

It should be clear that the sociology of Mennonites involves the assumption that scientific methods can be successfully applied to the study of Mennonite life, and that the findings derived from the scien-

tific approach will be beneficial by helping us to see more clearly our cultural strengths and weaknesses. Without these assumptions, the scientific study of Mennonites by Mennonites can hardly be justified. It is perhaps well to call attention to certain methodological problems faced by the person who aspires to conduct a social research project. Sociology is not philosophy, nor theology, nor even history. Therefore research methods in sociology differ markedly from research methods in these other fields. One who is well trained in research in these other fields may be quite unqualified to conduct social research. Philosophy, theology, and history derive their data largely from the recorded knowledge and wisdom of the past. Consequently the library is the researcher's chief source of data. Not so with the sociologist. His chief source of data is the "field," that is, the community, the family, the factory—wherever man lives with his fellows. Hence the social researcher engages primarily in "field studies." He may use the "participant observer technique," gathering data while living with the group he is studying. He may use the "case method" which involves becoming intimately acquainted with the persons who are his "subjects." He may interview such persons or study their "case records," as in the case of juvenile delinquents, alcoholics, or broken homes.

Widespread use of the "survey method" is made in social research. This normally involves the use of questionnaires administered to large or small groups, or samples of large groups. The researcher normally has little or no personal contact with his respondents. He usually makes extensive use of statistics in order to analyze and present his data. The social psychologist may use "projective methods" in order to elicit responses indicating deep-seated motives and values which a respondent may be reluctant, or unable, to communicate. All this does not mean that a sociologist makes no use of a library. On the contrary, sociological "findings" may be extracted from written documents, research reports, and historical records. Many research papers are written by this method. The college student customarily uses this method, since he becomes familiar with this method long before he studies "field methods." In spite of their general preoccupation with other methods, sociologists will always depend on library sources for much data. In fact, social processes and social organization of the present cannot be fully understood without recourse, for comparative purposes at least, to the records of past modes of life. History is as indispensable to the sociologist as mathematics is to the physicist.

Perhaps the greatest methodological problems faced by a social researcher involve the handling of quantitative data. The survey method is especially useful in reducing qualitative materials to quantitative (i.e., numerical) values. Persons and groups can be more reliably compared by employing numerical measures. Averages, percentage distributions, and deviations can be computed. Use can be made of index numbers, scales, and correlations. These all require adequate knowledge of statistics, of course. Few social researchers can get by without training in statistics. Unreliable statistics are worse than no statistics—someone may believe them. The preparation and administration of a questionnaire likewise calls for specialized training. Many pitfalls beset the untrained or unguided user of a questionnaire. Fortunately very helpful treatises on questionnaire methods are now available, making it possible to obtain questionnaire data that are both valid and reliable. Another methodological problem is that of sampling. Oftentimes much money and time can be saved by studying a sample instead of an entire population or "universe." A large population can be quite accurately described by a well-chosen sample. But what is a well-chosen sample? How may a sample be selected? How large should a sample be? What if some of the respondents in a sample fail to respond? These are a few of the problems faced when the research method involves sampling.

Space does not allow a discussion of interviewing techniques; methods of recording data; tables, charts, graphs, and other methods of presenting data to the reader; pretesting questionnaires; mailing questionnaires; constructing attitude scales; and other problems in social research. Our purpose has been only to indicate that social research involves a wide range of methods and problems. An awareness of these problems is an important factor in helping the student to select a problem and choose a method that lies within, and not beyond, the scope of his own research training, and the training of his advisers. Too many student research projects have employed methods beyond the scope of the student's research preparation. There is little merit in this situation. Even though the student may be given credit in a course, his "findings" may be open to serious question, and he has not acquired good research training in the process. As we push forward in the fascinating study of our church life, let us build well so that those who come after us will not need to discard our work because it is found to be unreliable.

6. A Bibliography on the Sociology of Mennonites[7]

The items in the following bibliography were selected as having relevance for a study of the sociology of Mennonites. The list is by no means exhaustive, although an attempt has been made to gather all items of major significance appearing in English.[8] The selections were made on the basis of the following criteria:

(1) The item must be directly concerned with Mennonites, or some subgroup of Mennonites. Items written by Mennonites, but not about Mennonites or some phase of Mennonitism, are not included.

(2) The item must provide some original, empirical data, or make a definite contribution to theory and description of Mennonite life.

(3) Some items are included which are primarily historical, theological, or philosophical, but such are listed only if the work includes one or more substantial sections on the social aspects of Mennonite life and thought.

(4) Only works in the English language are included. The more serious student will want to examine the many sources on Mennonites written in other languages.

(5) The scope of the selections includes all Mennonite groups in the world. Hutterites are also included.

(6) Secondary works which merely summarize the materials from a primary source are not included. For example, textbooks which summarize the work of Kollmorgen on the Amish would not be listed.

(7) Although the list is limited primarily to published journal articles and books, some unpublished theses and research papers have been included.

The list does not include items from the *Mennonite Weekly Review,* the *Gospel Herald, The Mennonite,* and other official publications of Mennonite bodies. Such items frequently may be of interest and importance to the researcher, but are usually brief and popular in style. A number of general works and bibliographies would be of value to the student of the sociology of Mennonites. Among these are: (1)*The Mennonite Encyclopedia* (Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, Volume I, 1955; other volumes in press). The *Encyclopedia* contains articles on a number of topics of a sociological

7 The assistance of Nelson Springer, curator of the Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen College; Delbert Gratz, librarian at Bluffton College; and Mrs. Guy F. Hershberger in the preparation of the bibliography is gratefully acknowledged.

8 The writer will be grateful to readers who can supply him with titles that should be added but which may have been overlooked.

nature, such as birth rates, marriage, community, alcohol among the Mennonites of northwest Germany, agriculture among the Mennonites of Russia, the ban, homes for the aged, migrations, recreation, tobacco, discipline, dress, and farming. (2) Publications of the Rules and Discipline of Mennonite conferences. (3) Minutes and Resolutions of the meetings of Mennonite conferences. (4) *Census of Religious Bodies,* 1906, 1916, 1926, 1936 (Washington, D.C.: United States Bureau of the Census). (5) Leading national newspapers and news periodicals, and newspapers in Mennonite communities. For example, the *New York Times* has over 50 news items on Mennonites, from 1916 to the present. (6) John A. Hostetler, *Annotated Bibliography on the Amish* (Scottdale, 1951). (7) John Delbert Erb, *Index of Mennonite and Amish Mennonite Conference Resolutions* (unpublished manuscript, Mennonite Historical Library, Goshen, Indiana). (8) Willard H. Smith, "Mennonites in Latin America: An Annotated Bibliography" (*Mennonite Quarterly Review,* October, 1952, 26:298-318). (9) E. K. Francis, "A Bibliography on the Mennonites of Manitoba" (*Mennonite Quarterly Review,* July, 1953, 27:238-48).

The following abbreviations are used in the bibliography:

CL: Christian Living, monthly, Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House.

MC: Mennonite Community, monthly, published 1947-53 by the Mennonite Publishing House.

MHL: Mennonite Historical Library, Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana. The location of a number of unpublished seminar papers included in the bibliography.

ML: Mennonite Life, quarterly journal, published at Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas.

MQR: Mennonite Quarterly Review, published at Goshen College, Goshen Indiana.

The annual and biennial *Proceedings of the Conference on Mennonite Cultural Problems* are listed without publisher. These may be ordered from J. W. Fretz, Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas.

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ANABAPTISM AND CHURCH ORGANIZATION

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The profound world revolution of recent decades and the complexity of modern life have forced Christians around the world to attempt a new understanding of the church. Christian communions which have lived for generations and even centuries in self-contained independence have been thrown into intimate interaction with others. Churches which have long been the dominant spiritual force in whole cultures suddenly find themselves challenged and attacked by neopagan forces which have grown up under their own shadows. And here in America, where Christians have long been accustomed to begin independent sects at the drop of an ecclesiastical hat, Christian divisions appear increasingly as the scandal which they are.

The present quest for an understanding and a realization of the church has produced a voluminous literature, both in centers of Christian learning and in ecumenical conferences.[1] In these studies, for all the variety of views and insights expressed, certain basic problems persistently recur. These have to do with the contradictory and the paradoxical in the church as superhistorical on the one hand, and historical on the other. One aspect of this paradox, and the resultant tension, is the relationship of ecclesiastical organization and the fellowship of persons among whom Christ rules in the Spirit. One may ask: What is the relationship of the *koinonia* created by Pentecost (clearly the content of *ekklesia* in the New Testament), and the organization which inevitably springs from it?[2] Theoretically, one might even ask: What is the relation of the *gift* of the Spirit (I Cor. 12:12 ff.) to the *gifts* of the Spirit (I Cor. 12:7, 14 ff.), granting what may actually be open to question, that ecclesiastical and hierarchical structure is a valid expression of the *gifts* of the Spirit?

Conforming to current English usage, the simplest statement of this contrast is to compare the *essence* of a given reality with its *form*.[3] We could thus say, e.g., that the essence of the church is "the fellowship of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord" (I Cor. 1:9), or "all that call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ in every place" (v. 2). In speaking of form we would refer to the organization or polity of a given congregation or even denomination. We would recognize that

1 Cf. Wilhelm Pauck, "The Idea of the Church in Christian History," *Church History* (1952), 21:191-214.

2 Cf. Emil Brunner, *The Misunderstanding of the Church* (London, 1952).

3 I am accepting ordinary usage here without evaluating this usage either linguistically or philsophically.

in a given Mennonite or Methodist or Greek Orthodox assembly there are (at least potentially) Christians present, yet the form of common life differs deeply among these several denominations.[4]

I

The present paper seeks to open the study of the *essence-form* problem in Mennonite history. It is undertaken, not with the assumption that definitive historical answers are possible, and hence not with the view that the sixteenth—or the first—century is normative. This study does lead to the hypothesis, however, that the genius of Anabapism—and of first-century Christendom—lay not in the achievement of a perfect form, which can be regarded as externally normative or reproducible, but in the high degree of realization that *the church is the perpetual creation of the Holy Spirit, who perpetually creates and recreates appropriate forms.* This does not mean human freedom to fashion hierarchies at will, but rather that all division of labor in the church must be Spirit-based, indeed that essence and form are inseparable. Historical structures not animated by the Spirit simply are not the church. Rather they belong to the structures of this age which shall pass away and must even be regarded as demonic and usurpative (cf. II Thess. 2).

This paper thus frankly assumes in some sense a polemical character. As such, however, it seeks to understand as honestly as possible the documents of Anabaptist-Mennonite history. It is thus subject to correction by these. Much additional research will be necessary before the picture of polity in Anabaptist history comes fully clear. For the sixteenth century much reliance is placed in this study on "creedal" statements among the Dutch, as over against other data among the Swiss Brethren. Future study will need to correct or supplement the Dutch view by testimonials from the martyrologies and other writings, while for the Swiss-German groups, further inquiry into actual congregational life will be needed. The two recent studies of the offices of elder and bishop by Cornelius Krahn and Harold S. Bender, respectively (*MQR, April,* 1956), have been helpful, but unfortunately these do not attempt to probe the deeper question here posed.

II

The crucial importance of the church in the Anabaptist vision has been much stressed by recent scholarship.[5] It is very clear that

4 The above example would imply the familiar visible-invisible church concept. Ths is a formulation which in its final sense I am led to reject, since it is the attempt to accommodate theology to the Constantinian church. However, the matter cannot be further pursued here.

5 It is not necessary to recapitulate in these columns the series of fruitful essays by Bender, Friedmann, Krahn, Littell, Wray, and others published here and elsewhere. We do not propose to enter the discussion as to the relation of the church *motif* to others such as disciple-

for the sixteenth-century Anabaptist, salvation is of necessity corporate. But when one raises the question of polity, of form, one is struck by the general indifference to, and even occasional hostility toward, the question of polity. Samuel Cramer has well said that "most of the brothers and sisters were simply thankful for the security which the pious circle gave their souls, without breaking their heads over questions of church order."[6]

That is, the first decades of Anabaptism were filled with the quest for the true church in essence, and not merely in organization or form. Indeed the whole reform, and particularly Anabaptism, was precipitated by a fatal misunderstanding by the medieval church as to essence and form. There a specific form, though bound by time and space, came to be regarded as constitutive and essential to the true church. Already Cyprian had said: "He can no longer have God for his Father who has not the church for his mother."[7] And the church, to Cyprian's successors, meant ever more clearly *Rome*. Indeed, as Pauck points out, the spiritual decline of Christians in Cyprian's day led to the insistence upon the episcopacy as "the bearer of the spirit" rather than the assembly itself.[8] By the Middle Ages Catholicism had long since given up the idea of the local, specific realization of the church as a visible assembly of believers, and had settled for a sacramentarian-sacerdotal system which was regarded as the historic manifestation of the church—a continuation of the incarnation, as it is described today—whose task is to guide society and to mediate grace.

The new Protestant churches (Luther) "destroyed the principle that certain forms and orders of organization and cult are essential to the nature of the church."[9] The structural principle gives way to emphasis on the (proclaimed) word of Scripture, but also to proper administration of the sacraments.[10] But despite this shift in emphasis, the reformers' attempt to substitute spiritual for structural power can hardly be regarded as fortunate. For the shift in authority actually moved from papacy, as a temporal power structure, to civil government (the prince as *Notbischof* in Germany and the *Bürgermeister* and *Rat* in Switzerland), a structure even less of the church than the papacy.

ship. Cf. especially: H. S. Bender, "The Anabaptist Theology of Discipleship." *MQR* (January, 1950), 24:25-32.

6 S. Cramer, *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Néerlandica* (hereafter *BRN*) (The Hague, 1904), 2:37.

7 Cyprian, "On the Unity of the Church," in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* (New York, 1886), 5:423.

8 Pauck, *loc. cit.*, 197.

9 *Ibid.*, 209.

10 The Augsburg Confession, Article VII; cf. also the Zwinglian clergy's view at the debate at Zofingen, 1532: "There one must look, not primarily on the man and his person, but on the proclaimed word." *Handlung . . . zuo Zoffingen . . .* (Zürich, 1532), 119.

III

When this development occurred under Zwingli, a few of his associates protested and eventually continued alone on the road they felt implicit in the original reform effort. Rejecting the state church compromise, they pressed forward step by step in search of a more desirable solution.[11] The task which confronted them, however, now that papacy and secular power alike had been repudiated, was to discover the constitutive authority or dynamic of the church. Further, as they discovered their answer, they had to demonstrate and prove to their opponents, both Protestant and Catholic, that the church is not essentially dependent for her existence upon continuous, historical, sacerdotal structure.

At an earlier date Zwingli himself had enunciated this principle. From the time of his arrival in Zürich about New Year 1519, he had subjected his preaching and the life of the church rigorously to the norm of Scripture. His appeals to ecclesiastical authorities for reform, notably his bishop at Constance, were largely fruitless. When he first turned to the Zürich city council for help, in view of the failure of the hierarchy, his position was still uncertain. There were moments when he sensed clearly that his way could well be the way of the cross. As late as the opening of the second disputation in Zürich, October 26-28, 1523, he sees clearly the only possible alternative to papacy—congregational responsibility. Says Zwingli:

> The Scriptures speak in a twofold manner of the church. In the first place, the Christian Church signifies the whole multitude of all believers, known only to God . . . . Secondly, church in the Scriptures is used with reference to a parish (*kilchhöre*). Thus Paul writes to the churches in Corinth and . . . Galatia . . . . In these two specific ways church is used in the divine Word . . . . It follows therefore that the assemblies or councils of popes, cardinals, and bishops are not the Christian Church. In the first place, they are not the general church, for they are not the totality of believers. . . . Secondly, they are not a parish (congregation). . . . [Later he adds]: Yes, Höngg and Küssnacht [villages outside Zürich] are more definitely a church than all the seditiously assembled bishops and popes.[12]

Zwingli argues that the assembled Christians in Zürich have the authority to regulate their own affairs, an insight albeit jeopardized by the mayor's convening of the colloquy. Then, as the debate progresses and Zwingli defers to the city government, the first open disagreement between him and the later Anabaptists occurs precisely at this point.

11 Fritz Blanke, *Brüder in Christo* (Zürich, 1955), ch. 1.

12 Emil Egli, Georg Finsler, *et al.* (Eds.), *Huldreich Zwingli's Sämtlich Werke* (Leipzig, 1908), 2:681 ff., 688.

Already by the following summer (September 5, 1524) Grebel and his friends sense clearly that the Word of Christ, namely, the "rule of Matthew 18," and obedient faith constitute the foundation of the church, of any church. In their letter to Thomas Müntzer they urge him to move forward and establish a church (*mach ein christenliche gemein*) on this basis.[13] Their own action in January, 1525, then demonstrates clearly their acceptance of this insight. The well-known account of the first believers' baptism (by the Swiss Brethren) indicates that in their decision they appealed to the self-authenticating work of Word and Spirit as the authority for action. "For flesh and blood and human forwardness did by no means lead them to take such a step."[14] Let there be no mistake! *Anabaptism rests ultimately on perpetual spiritual re-creation which derives its authority from the work of the Spirit among men thereby united, and not from ecclesiastical structure.*

Two early examples will show how clearly these men understood this themselves. At the debate at Zofingen in 1532, when the Brethren were challenged to prove that theirs was the true church and that they had been sent by God, they defined the church as follows: "The foundation and beginning of the Christian church, a gathering of a Christian community, is those who from the beginning give themselves through faith into obedience to the Gospel, in a penitent life, bearing remorse and sorrow, and believing that their sin has been forgiven. . . . These are called the church and the members of Christ, to whom a rule, order and regiment has been given, which is the ban through which they purify themselves in obedience to the truth."[15] To describe further how the church comes into being the Brethren said: "For always in the early church those who through repentance and change of life were converted were incorporated and planted into the true church. In this way the true church was raised up; when they (the apostles) came to a locality, they preached and at once a separation from the world arose, which (separated church) they now occupied and provided with elders . . . ."[16]

Menno Simons clearly held the same view. When he was challenged by Gellius Faber, the ex-Catholic Lutheran priest at Emden, to prove the validity of his claim to represent the true church and to have been sent by God, Menno could not have recourse to anything like "apostolic succession." Rather, he criticized Faber himself for

13 Leonard von Muralt und Walter Schmid, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Taüfer in der Schweiz I* (Zürich, 1952); cf. partial translation in H. S. Bender, *Conrad Grebel* (Goshen, 1950), 284.

14 John Horsch, *Mennonites in Europe* (Scottdale, 1950), 50.

15 *Handlung . . . zuo Zoffingen . . .* (Zürich, 1532), 24.

16 *Ibid.*, 23 ff.

holding that though the church has fallen into all manner of wickedness and sin, "yet he asserts that she has remained the church of Christ, as if the church could inherit from generation to generation, . . . and does not consist in faith, Spirit and power."[17]

About 1540 Obbe Philips defected from the Anabaptist movement, according to his own claims, because he had received ordination from Jan Matthys who turned out to have been one of the false Münsterite leaders.[18] It appears that Menno and his associates, since they in turn had been ordained by Obbe, were for a time deeply shaken. If Obbe had not been duly ordained (in apostolic succession), what about all those who held their office through him? Was theirs also a false mission? Menno's Dutch biographer, Vos, lays it to his credit that at this point he had the courage to move forward on the strength of his own inner call, without being unnerved finally by the realization that except for his Catholic ordination which he had renounced, he could lay claim to no external line of succession.[19] We may well ask whether this sobering experience did not underlie the above statement (answer to Faber) of Menno regarding continuity of organization which he formulated about 1555. The church cannot be transmitted outwardly but is ever the creation of the Spirit.

Clearly then, the early Anabaptists were not primarily concerned about a technically correct (if such there be) or continuous church organization, but sought rather to recover the essence of the true church in a context where for centuries men had mistaken the external form for the inner essence. The Catholics, and to some extent the Protestants, postulated the kind of visible organizational continuity which was thought to guarantee the objective presence of the church irrespective of the presence and conduct of her members. Having seen, however, how fatally such a view can mislead and deceive, and how unscriptural it is, the Anabaptists asserted that the "true church is raised up" where "faith, Spirit and power" achieve "repentance and change of life," achieve "obedience to the truth." Such a church carries within itself its own authentication: not external organizational continuity but internal spiritual creation.

IV

The search of the early Anabaptists for the true church in reality rather than in form, however, did not lead to anarchy. Nor did it mean subjective individualism such as one finds among the *Spiritualisten*. The church was conceived in very concrete and visible terms.

17 Menno Simons, *Complete Writings* (Scottdale, 1956), 754.
18 *Mennonitisches Lexikon* (1952), 3:370.
19 K. Vos, *Menno Simons* (Leiden, 1914), 63.

It was precisely because their church took form that the Anabaptists ran into difficulty with sixteenth-century society. But what form did it take? Here again one must keep in mind the background against which these men worked. They rejected the papacy and the whole Catholic hierarchy because it had no Scriptural foundation, because it had been corrupted, and because it withheld from the members the privileges and responsibilities inherent in church membership. By the same token they repudiated the Protestant (Zwinglian) clergy and ecclesiastical authority.[20] In either case the appointment of priests was not basically in the hands of the congregation.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the first church orders recorded are radically congregational. The congregation (*Gemeinde*) is the church.[21] Authorization to preach, e.g., can be given only by a specific *Gemeinde* "which God has accepted."[22] This can be further seen in the highly informal character of the early Swiss Brethren gatherings. Both baptism and the Lord's Supper were observed in homes or even out of doors, as there was occasion, and during the early days persons who indicated a desire to enter a new life were admitted to the Lord's Supper without having been rebaptized. The oldest disciplines describe the worship services in terms which sound like I Corinthians 14:26 f. Someone is to read and he whom God has given the best understanding is to interpret. The others are to listen; two or three are not to speak at once.[23] In these assemblies decisions are made and responsibility is vested. The term church (*Kirche*) gives way completely to community (*Gemeinde*). The congregation is truly the church universal in microcosm. Every vestige of a superstructure is repudiated, since this is regarded as Catholic.[24]

And yet this charismatic informality was not devoid of designated leadership. There are leaders in these assemblies from the very beginning. And long before the close of the first century of Anabaptist history the problem of leadership and authority was to throw these

20 At Zofingen the Anabaptist spokesmen argue (p. 113): In the replacement of Judas by Matthias in Acts 1, "you hear that such (i.e., election) was not entrusted to special persons (i.e., the city governments), but was done before the congregation (Gemeinde). . . ."

21 This vein runs through the early Swiss Brethren records, especially the Schleitheim articles (1527), the Zofingen debate (1532), and the Discipline of the Believers. For the latter see *MQR* (April, 1955), 29:164 ff.

22 *Handlung . . . Zuo Zoffingen . . .* , 13.

23 Ernst Müller, *Geschichte der Benischen Täufer* (Frauenfeld, 1895), 36 ff. It will be observed that during the formative period practices were highly fluid by the very nature of the case. But this is of incidental significance. Flexibility was inherent rather in the concept of the church which underlay the Anabaptist movement as such. Even as great a conservative as T. J. van Braght writing at as late a date as 1660 unequivocally repudiated the apostolic succession, i.e., succession of person as constitutive to the church. See T. J. van Braght, *Martyrs' Mirror* (Scottdale, 1950), 26.

24 See above, footnote 20. It will be observed that Luther and Zwingli both placed great stress on the *Gemeinde*, and in this sense the Anabaptist usage is not unique. Cf., e.g., W. A. Mueller, *Church and State in Luther and Calvin* (Nashville, 1954), 24, and *passim*. But since both reformers brought civil authority into church government at an early date, the Anabaptists were unique in actually translating the concept into practice, and in this sense were the fulfillment of the Reformation.

simple bands of earnest Christians into bitter controversy. As we shall see, however, this was due to departures from the congregational base, rather than to the concept of leadership as such. There is thus from the very beginning the recognition, both for Biblical and practical reasons, that there are differing gifts in the church entailing responsibilities of leadership.

V

What were the offices of the ministry among the early Anabaptists? So far, their multiplicity of office has defied classification. Granting their major premise, this is to be expected. God is sovereign in the calling of leaders, and is free in accordance with local circumstances. The Schleitheim articles, perhaps following Zwingli, simply speak of the *Hirt*, the shepherd. The Discipline of Believers[25] speaks of *Vorsteher* and preachers. All three are generic rather than specific terms. At Zofingen the Brethren use terms like *Eltisten* (elder), *Vorstander* (leader), *Hirt* (shepherd or pastor), *Leerer* (teacher), *Diener des Worts* (minister of the Word), and *Pfarrer* (pastor). Following various Scriptures, Peter Rideman speaks of apostles (to go through the country, establish the faith), bishops and shepherds (who have the same office, except that it is local), helpers (who help the shepherds and exhort), rulers, also called ministers of temporal need, and lastly elders (who consider the good of the church community together with the minister).[26]

The same multiplicity characterizes the Dutch. There one finds *bisschop, leeraer* (teacher), *vermaner* (admonisher), *diaken, dienaar* (minister), *oudste* (elder), *leeraar in den vollen dienst, sorgh-dragers der gemeinte* (those who care for the churches), *opziener* (overseer), etc.[27] Even as late as 1613-47 the following, on the surface very confusing, list of officials occurs in the Waterlander congregation at Leiden:[28]

1613–14 Willem Jansz., Oudste of Leeraar tot den vollen Dienst.
Gijsbrecht Jansz. Knotter, Dienaar in het Woord.
Jan de Mortier, Bisschop of Oudste.
Jan Mulier, gewoon Prediker.
Joost Casier, Egbert Jansz., Christiaan van de Walle } Diakenen.
Jan Adriaansz. Knotte, Dienaar.

1630 Jan de Pla de Jong, Pieter Reyniersz., Pieter Willemsz. Knotter } Vermaners.

25 *MQR* (April, 1955), 164.
26 *An Account of Our Faith* (Bungay, Suffolk, 1950), 82.
27 See C. Krahn, "The Office of Elder in Anabaptist-Mennonite History," *MQR* (April, 1956), 120-27.
28 L. G. LePoole, *Bydragen Tot de Kennis van het Kerkelyk Leven . . .* (Leiden, 1950), 63.

1635–47	Jan de Pla Andries Marcusz. Favenne	Leeraren.
1638	Jacques Viane, Dienaar.	
1646	Salmon Gerritsz. van Hoogmade Hendrik Prins	Voorstanders en Bedienaars der Armen.
1647	Huibert Jansz. Verveer, Leeraar of Diaken.	

To look then for a consistent universal pattern of church organization among the early Anabaptists, both Swiss and Dutch, as their twentieth-century descendants sometimes do; or on the other hand to describe their church life as chaotic, as their opponents often did, is to miss basically the significance of these early years. From the Alps to the North Sea one feels the same pulse beat. God through the Spirit is gathering His people, and that which transpires in the church (*Gemeinde*) transpires because He acts. This is the consuming conviction of the Brethren. The true church, then, is recognized by the fruit of God's work. If the fruit of obedient life is forthcoming, an assembly is genuine. If there is no fruit, then neither *Gemeinde* nor the ministry is genuine. It is as simple as that.

Says Michael Jungmann in a hearing at Kürnbach (Hesse-Württemburg) in 1555, when questioned about the Anabaptist ministry: "If a man preach the Word of God pure and clean and in every way himself stays in keeping with it (for a preacher is to be blameless) he regards it as a good Christian office (*Ampt*), otherwise not."[29] The same attitude is reflected throughout the debate at Zofingen.[30] And Menno exclaims: "Let this be a true and certain rule. All who rightly preach Christ and His Word, and with it bring forth children to the Lord, . . . must have been urged into the vineyard of the Lord through the true and unfeigned love of God and their neighbor and through the power of the Holy Ghost."[31]

This dual insistence of the divine call of the minister and the genuineness of his own faith and life is further seen by the manner in which leaders are called. Indeed, this insistence determines the manner of calling. It was a common occurrence for imprisoned Swiss Brethren to appeal to a divine call. Menno indicates that men are called in two ways: first, by God alone, without human instrumentality, and second, "by means of the pious."[32]

At the colloquy of Emden (1578) the relationship between these two aspects of a call becomes clear: We understand that the bishops

29 Manfred Krebs, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer: IV Band, Baden u. Pfalz* (Gütersloh, 1951), 355.

30 See above n. 15 and 16. Cf. also, e.g., article 5 in Georg Schnabel's refutation (1538) of charges against the Anabaptists in Hesse. Regarding the true ministers: "By their fruits ye shall know them." Walther Köhler, et al., *Urkundliche Quellen zur hessischen Reformationsgeschichte* (Marburg, 1951), 4:176.

31 Menno Simons, *op. cit.*, 160.

32 *Ibid.*, 159 ff.

and ministers are chosen by the congregations (*gemeynten*) through the inspiration (*ingeven*) of God by unanimity of voice, which occurs through fasting and petitioning (*bidden*) of the Lord."[33] More striking, in view of the late date, is the stipulation in the Scriptural Confession of 1627, drawn up at Amsterdam. In order to obtain the calling and election of various church leaders

> the church must prepare herself by a devout fear, by fasting and prayer, with constant invocation of the name of God, that as a discerner of all hearts He will show through the unanimous vote of the church, whom He regards worthy of such office; trusting that the Lord, who hears the prayers of those who are assembled in His name, and grants the petition of the godly, will, by His Holy Spirit, manifest His co-operation, and bring forth those whom He knows to be fit for this office; wherefore, after having been examined they are confirmed to this office, before the church, by the teachers, with the laying on of hands.[34]

The concern is that *God* should call out leaders, and if He does not, the fault lies in the "unworthiness of the people." Therefore, if there is lack of leaders, the church should not turn to the universities to find such as sell their "purchased gift for temporal gain," but rather "the true members of Christ must . . . with humble fasting and praying turn to the Father of the harvest . . . that by his divine wisdom he will raise up men."[35] Coupled with this dependence on God to raise up leaders is the concern that true and false leaders be distinguished. For this reason, recognition by the congregation is early sought. Thus the elders agree at Wismar in 1554 that no one is to do itinerant preaching unless authorized.[36] This endeavor to recognize the genuineness of a call gave rise to probationary office, whereby a man was given the opportunity to demonstrate the validity of his call.[37]

VI

The multiplicity and diversity of gifts or offices in the brotherhood in time gave way to more precise and stable patterns. From the outset it is clear that several designations were used interchangeably for similar or identical functions. But here again, great caution is needed. For example, the office of deacon among Mennonites today refers specifically to the care of the poor and other needy persons. At some points in history, however, there seems to have been some

33 *Protocol. Dat is Alle handlinge des Ghesprecks . . .* (Leyden, 1606), 164.
34 *Martyrs' Mirror* (Scottdale, 1950), 31.
35 The Confession of P. J. Twisck (*ca.* 1600), in *ibid.*, 395.
36 Menno Simons, *op. cit.*, 1042.
37 The custom of an examination and/or probation was widespread among both the Swiss (Hoogduitsers) and the Dutch. Cf., e.g., the Concept of Cologne: ". . . and after he has been examined (*beproeft*) he shall be given permission to serve, and this is to be committed to him with the laying on of hands by the elders, and being elected thereto in unanimity by the *Gemeynte.*" Rembert, *Die "Wiedertaufer" im Herzogtum gülich* (Berlin, 1899), 617.

overlapping between the work of the deacon and that of a bishop-pastor as conceived today. Again, elder and bishop are often used interchangeably for the highest office, and yet during a period in Swiss Brethren history the *Diener* (minister) stood higher than the *Aeltester* (elder).[38]

The best fairly early differentiation occurs in Brixius Gerrit's presentation during the Emden colloquy in 1578. "We understand," he says, "according to the Holy Scriptures, a twofold ministry, as can be seen in I Timothy 3; namely, first the teachers or bishops (*leeraers ofte bischoppen*) . . . . Secondly, we read of the service of the deacons (Acts 6) or ministers (*dienaers*) (I Timothy 3) . . . . And further we understand . . . that because of the work of the deaconate they may also carry on the work of exhortation if necessary and they are asked by the congregation." The work of the teacher-bishop is to "preach the Word of God and to administer the sacraments."[39] The distinction in the Strasburg discipline (see above) is a step in a similar direction. It is almost certain that the elder in that discipline combines elements of the later elder-bishop's work and that of the deacon. For the elder was responsible for *Haushaltung* (housekeeping).[40] This conclusion is confirmed by testimonials from America in the eighteenth century.[41] To trace the actual emergence of a two- or three-fold ministry as one finds among Mennonites in various countries today, however, goes beyond the scope of this study.[42]

VII

This gradual codification of the ministerial office was a feature of the darkest chapter in Mennonite history—the divisions. The second half of the sixteenth and the fore part of the seventeenth century saw one controversy after another break out among the Dutch and Lower German Anabaptists. And yet among the Swiss Brethren we find no division until the rise of the Amish shortly before 1700. Why?

38 The Strasburg discipline of 1568 and the Palatine Amish discipline of *ca.* 1781, which is largely based on Strasburg, speak only of *Diener* and *Eltesten*. In publishing the latter document the *MQR* editors remark: "It is uncertain whether the original, 'Elteste,' means bishop or deacon, probably bishop." *MQR* (1930), 4:140. The exact division of duties here is uncertain, however, since the *Diener* rather than the *Elteste* takes the initiative in matters of church order. Ludwig Keller lists a threefold ministry with deacon lowest, then the elder (or *Vorsteher*), and finally the teacher (*Lehrer*) or Minister of the Word, highest. (*Die Reformation und die alteren Reformparteien*, Leipzig, 1885, 439.) This corresponds to the Strasburg discipline of 1568 where, in order to help congregations in difficulty, ministers (*Diener*) and elders (Aeltesten) of neighboring congregations are to visit them. Here the minister clearly takes priority in initiative. *MQR* (January, 1927), 60 ff.

39 *Protocol* . . . , 166. See also Krahn, *loc. cit.*, 121 f.

40 *Op. cit.*, 60, 64.

41 See the Amish Church Discipline of 1781, *MQR* (April, 1930), 146 ff. Cf. also John C. Wenger, *History of the Mennonites of the Franconia Conference* (Scottdale, 1938).

42 In addition to the articles by Bender and Krahn already cited (*MQR*, April, 1956), see especially H. S. Bender, "The Historical Backgrounds of Our Present Ministerial Offices," *Gospel Herald* (October 25, 1949), 42:1051. By the same author: "The Founding of the Mennonite Church in America . . . ," *MQR* (October, 1933), 7:227 ff. and "Was William Rittenhouse the First Mennonite Bishop in America?" *MQR* (January, 1933), 7:42-47.

We shall not risk a final answer here. The reasons for the controversies among the Dutch, however, are relatively clear. It was the question of the pure church, of discipline. How strict shall it be? But beneath this lay the question of church authority, which became acute because of developments peculiar to the Dutch.

The Münster catastrophe had misled and confused the entire Melchiorite movement in the North. Menno Simons was called to gather up the pieces, so to speak, after the extravagant Münsterites, whom he had already opposed while still Catholic, had been crushed. This became his great historic mission—to gather, to build, and to guide. But as so often in history, the vehicle of grace is allowed to become the instrument of undoing. According to his own testimony Menno was asked to become a *bisschop of oudste*.[43] But according to ten Cate, Menno and Dirk Philips became the two heads (*hoofden*) of their associates, the other elders. Prior to 1547, however, this was apparently a matter of strength of faith and personality, a kind of moral superiority. Then, at a meeting held at Emden in 1547 the need for general overseers was expressed, and naturally these two men were designated for that purpose. Menno then also urged the naming of Leenaert Bouwens.[44] Whether the whole territory was divided into three respective districts under these men, as is commonly assumed, has been disputed. Certain it is that their ministry was a fruitful one and that many congregations were established in the faith.

And yet this arrangement became a bane to Dutch Anabaptism. Particularly Leenaert Bouwens, but also the other overseers, sought to enforce practices from above and from without, contrary to the congregational genius which we have already met. Even then, the basic congregational polity remained. For at Emden, Brixius Gerrits could say (1578): "The *leeraers* [or as we have seen, bishops] are called in a single congregation and included in it, but this does not (exclude) that they be sent by their congregation to serve elsewhere . . . ."[45] The policy of Bouwens in the controversial matter of shunning the expelled violated the inalienable responsibility of the congregation for self-determination. Lambert Pieters, sometime before 1621, remarked significantly: "We were to establish (again) a new papacy. This we did not want, because through this the fall (apostasy) had come."[46] "If we enquire as to the result of the great controversy, we may observe the following. The elders did not retain the victory; the schisms became for them a dethroning. From this time

43 W. J. Kühler, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Doopsgezinden* . . . (Haarlem, 1932), 1:214.
44 S. Blaupot ten Cate, *Geschiedenis der Doopsgezinden in Friesland* (Leeuwarden, 1839).
45 *Protocol* . . . , 166b.
46 Quoted by Kühler, *op. cit.*, 1:434.

forward there is no more room in the brotherhood for rulers like Dirk Philips and Leenaert Bouwens. . . . A new, or better said, the old *Doopsgezinde* spirit of freedom again gained ascendancy."[47]

We must hasten to add that the alternative to general authoritarian rule is not congregational particularism. Church unity is implicit in the very idea of the church. Nor is this a condemnation of larger gatherings or conventions. Indeed such gatherings characterized all Anabaptist groups from the outset. Particularly among the Swiss, conventions promoted consensus through sharing, admonition, and agreement on certain basic positions. No superordinate persons or instances were set up, however, which took away the exercise of self-determination (under Christ) so essential to the vigor of every *Gemeinde*.

VIII

The repudiation of the overseers, however, was not yet the end of such efforts among the Dutch and other later Mennonite groups. The *Kirchenkonvent* in Russia during the nineteenth century and certain Canadian and American conferences are all examples of how imperceptibly church government can develop features akin to the Catholic hierarchical system.[48] We shall be content here to cite one example, safely buried by two kind centuries, namely, the conference (*societeit*) of the Old Flemish in Groningen during the eighteenth century, a group which remained independent after the seventeenth-century schisms. The date of the organization of this conference is uncertain, but as early as 1628 meetings were already being held.[49] As the *societeit* was first organized, its objective was to insure purity of faith and life in the congregation, an objective which was carried out through occasional meetings of elders and the ministers. After 1717, the second function, viz., supporting needy congregations, was added. This was occasioned by the great flood in 1717 when some of the congregations were placed in dire need. After the middle of the century, a third responsibility was taken up, namely, improvement of the salaries of ministers.

In the course of the eighteenth century, however, the *societeit* rapidly declined. First of all, the congregations no longer accepted

47 Kühler, 434. It will be remarked that Kühler represents a modern mystic-humanistic interpretation of Anabaptism. Certainly freedom in the true Anabaptist sense does not mean *vrijzinnig*. But however much one may disagree with Kühler's interpretation, the basic facts in the case cannot be gainsaid.

48 It is not suggested that congregationalism *per se* is a guarantee against leadership abuses. Quite to the contrary, there is a congregationalism that makes for disunity and carnality. On the Russian Mennonite *Kirchenkonvent* see P. M. Friesen, *Die Alt-Evangelische Mennonitsche, Brüderschaft in Russland* . . . (Halbstadt, 1911), 44 ff.

49 Ten Cate, *Geschiedenis der Doopsgezinden in Groningen, Overijssel en Oost-Friesland* (Leeuwarden, 1842), 1:125-247; H. Westra, "Alte Flaminges Societät," *Mennonitisches Lexikon*, 38.

the supervision of nonresident elders, and when in 1726 it was necessary to replace several elders who had died, two thirds of the congregations failed to support the proposal for a new election. As a counterproposal a new office was set up called "overseer" (*opzieners*). The administration of the ordinances was now fully in the hands of the local group (if so desired), and the overseers served as general counselors in case of local problems. After about fifty years even this supervision was rejected, and a new office was created in place of the overseers known as the commissioner (*commissarissen*). This office was yet more mildly advisory than that of the overseers. But even this no longer seemed to fill any real need so that four years after the *Algemeene Doopsgezinde Societeit* was organized in 1811, the *societeit* of the Old Flemish was officially dissolved. This particular organizational cycle thus began with a fellowship congregationalism and ended with an individualistic congregationalism, by way of a centralistic conference control. After the local vitality, the first love, had declined, a remedy was sought in external control which for a time stayed the tide. In the long run, however, it could not prevent the ebbing away of spiritual vitality, and the churches ended in a relatively liberal individualism.[50]

IX

This brings us to a provisional conclusion. Our study points to the following observations:

1. The genius of Anabaptism lies in its capturing the essence of the church rather than some special form.

2. The early Anabaptists were very conscious of this distinction since they were forced to assert themselves in the face of institutional churches gone corrupt. Not only had they to prove the validity of their vocation on bases other than apostolic succession, but were themselves profoundly distrustful of any effort to make the church a matter of external organizational continuity.

3. The church concept of the early Anabaptists was essentially congregational.

4. Nevertheless they were profoundly convinced of the unity of the church. Because of their deep participation in Christ, however, because of the strong spiritual vitality of their *Gemeinden*, they were not concerned particularly about the mechanics of intercongregational relationships. Church unity simply was a reality basic in their experience.

5. The problem of disunity became acute, particularly at those points where the more pneumatic quality of the brotherhood re-

50 *Ibid.*, 125-50.

ceded, and men sought to define the church in concrete cultural forms and patterns; in other words, when the attention began to shift from essence to form. It was then that disagreements arose, indeed, inevitably must arise, because conditions of culture and experience vary too greatly to make stereotyped uniformity possible.

6. The early Anabaptists emphasized strongly the need for responsible leadership and discipline in the brotherhood. There must be sharing and guidance among the brethren, and the house must be kept clean and orderly. The absence of power structures meant neither anarchy nor libertinism. Rather the Scriptures through the Spirit and the Spirit through the Scriptures in the midst of the Brethren was a force more powerful than any human instruments of discipline. Nor did the absence of a power structure mean complete spontaneity without all organization. Instead, organized schemes were deviative rather than constitutive. The development of strong central organs of control in the Netherlands in particular can be regarded as a contradiction of the essential character of the movement.

7. Strong contacts between congregations by traveling ministers and gatherings of ministers characterize Anabaptism from the beginning. But visible structures of authority which transcend the local group, standing over and outside the local assembly, and making decisions apart from the participation of the assembly, can for a time stem the process of dissolution, at least on the surface. Indeed, in times of spiritual decline, they may even preserve a remnant. But the strength of the superstructure is also its weakness and downfall. The removal of basic decisions of Christian living from the bosom of the brotherhood and the shoulders of those who must ultimately practice them weakens by so much the already weak members of the flock. Christian practice must ever flow spontaneously from inner commitment and experience. The Scriptures, the Spirit, and the brethren are the resources which the New Testament gives to the believers. To supplement them by a temporal power structure because they are no longer adequate is only to postpone an evil day. If the local brotherhood is no longer spiritually strong enough to make its own way with the Scriptures and the Spirit, it will hardly be strengthened by some of its functions being taken over by another agency which performs them through remote controls.

8. The early records all point clearly to the strong dependence of the Anabaptists during the first decades upon the initiative of God in the choice of leadership. Precisely for this reason there was a rich variety of offices in the performance of the various functions. Certain basic tasks such as guidance, teaching, pastoral care, etc., are stipu-

lated in the New Testament and were emphasized by the brotherhood. But the consciousness was strong that it is God who gives the gifts, and these vary as circumstances and people vary and change. The attitude toward "apostolic succession" ranged all the way from mild disinterest to outright repudiation. The deeper concern was the call of God, which the congregation might recognize and confirm, and the consistent life of the office-bearer.

It is the present author's hope that this paper will stimulate further research and discussion on the problem. A recovery of the largely lost dimension of the local *koinonia-ekklesia* is indispensable if the Anabaptist vision is to survive creatively in this century.

Principles et Doctrines Mennonites. Par Pierre Widmer et John H. Yoder. Montbéliard et Bruxelles: Publications Mennonites, 1955. pp. 79. (Available at the addresses of the editors. In Belgium: Jules Lambotte, fils, 127 Ch. de Haecht, Schaerbeek-Brussels, 24 Bfr. In France: *Christ Seul,* Admin, Pierre Sommer, Grand Charmont par Montbéliard [Doubs]. 180 Ffr.

This paper-bound booklet is valuable not only for its contents but also for what it represents in Mennonite work and co-operation since the second World War in French-speaking Europe.

The authors, a French Mennonite schoolteacher and elder and the editor of the French Mennonite monthly *Christ Seul,* and an American Mennonite worker for the Mennonite Central Committee (until 1953), presently a student at the University of Basel, are both former instructors in the French section of the European Mennonite Bible School at Basel, where the booklet had its birth in courses presented to Mennonite youth. The French Mennonite leadership, the MCC, the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities (with a work in Belgium and the Paris region), and the Mennonite Publishing House with its newly established publishing setup, *Editions* AGAPE, have all contributed in many ways to the appearance of the booklet.

Conceived principally for those within the Anabaptist-Mennonite stream who desire to "rethink their faith by trying to place it afresh within the light of the permanent values of their tradition," the booklet is a study tool for the old congregations in eastern France and French Switzerland, as well as the developing congregations in Belgium and the Paris area. As the preface states, it is intended also for all those "who seek to follow the example of the first Christian churches, in constituting, by the grace of God, a visible brotherhood united by their common commitment as disciples of Jesus Christ and by an awareness of being objects of His love," plus those who desire to know and better understand the Mennonite position within world-wide Christendom.

The first part of the booklet is a commentary by Pierre Widmer on the Apostles' Creed, traditionally accepted and used by Mennonites, which places the publication, like the movement, squarely within the context of Christian orthodoxy and classical evangelicalism.

The second part represents an interpretative analysis by John Yoder of the "main-line" Anbaptists as understood chiefly in the light of two confessions of faith, viz., their earliest statement of faith (Schleitheim, 1527) and the one now most widely used (Dordrecht, 1632). After a brief historical section, the author presents what he considers to be the particular Anabaptist understanding of Christianity in seven subchapters, treating of discipleship, the purity of the church, her unity, her separation from the world, her world-wide evangelistic task, her congregational leadership, and nonresistance. Each of these presents an analysis of the confessional articles dealing with the subject in question, and the relevant Scripture passages.

Chapters three and four present the complete text of the "confessions" of Schleitheim and Dordrecht in French. These are significant chapters. Here is the first modern French translation (Widmer-Yoder) of the Schleitheim articles. Based on the critical edition of Beatrice Jenny (1951), it is offered and interpreted for the first time to a French-reading public. The Dordrecht articles, translated into French from the original

Dutch for the first time in modern times by Jean de Savignac, are presented within the context of their little-known but long preface, thus dramatizing the practical and "non-confessional" character of Mennonite statements or summaries of faith.

A brief commentary on the Dordrecht articles by Widmer for catechetical purposes constitutes the fifth and concluding chapter of the booklet. It is unfortunate that the author felt it necessary to "clarify" the article on eschatology by introducing the notion of two resurrections, two judgments, and the millennial reign into the Dordrecht summary of classical evangelical eschatology. This is, however, an honest reflection of contemporary French Mennonite thought and piety.

Irenic in its presentation of distinctive "Mennonitism," this booklet should be helpful for those within and without the Mennonite stream to a better understanding of the calling and mission of this brotherhood within contemporary Christendom.

Brussels DAVID A. SHANK

Pages Choisies de Pierre Sommer-precedees d'une Esquisse Biographique. Par Pierre Widmer, Grand Charmont (Doubs), France: *Christ Seul,* 1955. Pp. xii, 144. 210 fr.

Selected Pages from the Work of Pierre Sommer, as one might translate the title, is a paper-bound omnibus volume containing autobiography, biography, documents, photographs, bibliography, and articles from the life of a "witness of Jesus Christ." This caption, cited above the flyleaf photograph of the radiant face of an elderly, bearded saint, is more than a personal tribute from the son-in-law biographer and compiler-author of this volume. As the contents of the compilation reveal, this is merely a statement of the life intentions of Pierre Sommer and represents as well the impression that he left upon the character of the Mennonite congregations of eastern France in the present century.

Preacher, elder, itinerant evangelist, editor, Bible school teacher, historian, author, organizer—Pierre Sommer (1874-1952) was all of these. The volume fittingly sums up the work of a man whose ministry coincides with a period of revival, activation, and regrouping of the scattered, disintegrating, formal, tradition-bound Anabaptist-Mennonite congregations of the first of the century.

The selected articles are historical, doctrinal, and Biblical studies first published in Sommer's monthly *Christ Seul,* and more recently reprinted in the same journal, now edited by the compiler of the present volume. These reprints constitute the bulk of the contents and are listed under twelve subtitles, such as: (1) Anabaptists and Mennonites. (2) What Do You Do with Your Bible? (3) The First Page of the Bible. (4) Bible Studies. (5) The Church. (8) Eschatology. (11) Family and Education. These studies reveal the preoccupations of this leader during the period of the first half of the twentieth century—and show that he was an authentic "Mennonite," though one finds a heavy pietistic coloring within the pages. Conversion and faithfulness in life, nonresistance and the nonswearing of oaths, divorce and mixed marriages—all of these themes are found within the pages. An historical consciousness shows an awareness of the mission of the Mennonite brotherhood but a strong Biblical consciousness prevents him from understanding this in any other sense than that of a fraternity within the context of the "Church of Christ." The autobiographical account of Sommer's refusal to take the

oath while in military service in North Africa may seem a bit paradoxical to American Mennonites, but this is a true reflection of the piety that he inherited through his training and early life. That he should transcend this, as revealed by an increasing concern about the Mennonite witness for nonresistance (article from *Christ Seul,* 1929), indicates the openness to growth and the strength of the man, and is perhaps an indication of a possible trend within the French-speaking Mennonite community with its growing sense of mission within the larger Christendom. On the other hand, one may be shocked by the curious ideas revealed in the article, "Sons of God and Daughters of Men" (p. 83), which justifies the remark from the official organ of the French Reformed Church: "Many of the pages contain spiritual substance from which every Christian may be nourished, even if it were not possible to be in agreement with all the ideas of the author."

This small but comprehensive volume is an essential to an understanding of contemporary French Mennonitism and gives a most unusual perspective to its present-day life, activity, thought, and piety.

Brussels, Belgium DAVID A. SHANK

Greek-English Concordance to the New Testament: A Tabular and Statistical Greek-English Concordance Based on the King James Version with an English-to-Greek Index. By J. B. Smith. Introduction by Bruce M. Metzger. Scottdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1955. $8\frac{1}{2}$ x $11\frac{1}{4}$. Pp. 430. $12.75.

To make genuinely accessible to students a concordance which leads directly from the Greek New Testament to the English translation of each word is a most significant service. This is exactly what the late J. B. Smith accomplished in the *Greek-English Concordance to the New Testament.* True to the subtitle, it is "tabular and statistical." The publishers describe its distinctive character as follows:

> The tabular arrangement and statistical treatment of the translations of the Greek words are unique to this Concordance. By means of tables the Concordance provides easily and quickly a "picture" of the translations and related meanings of a given Greek word. The statistical treatment of the Greek words shows the number of occurrences according to books of the New Testament and according to translations. In addition, each table gives the number of occurrences of the Greek word by verse references and according to books of the New Testament. (Preface)

Accordingly each Greek word with its word serial number and English transliteration heads a table. Horizontally on the first line of the table is found its translation or translations. Below each English word three vertical columns list respectively the books in which each translation occurs, the number of occurrences in each book, and the verse references. Values of this arrangement are apparent. The respective translations of a Greek word first meet the eye. The number and location of its uses in the several New Testament books are also quickly seen. The various translations of a Greek word lead the student to some comprehension of its several senses or breadth of meaning. The English-Greek index lists under each English word a transliteration of the Greek word or words into which it is translated together with the word serial number. With this information the non-Greek student can find his way in the Concordance. After each Greek word the number of times it is translated

by the English word is also given. Thus the more common translations of a Greek word can be noted. One may also observe the several Greek words which have some similarity or overlap in their meaning.

The value of the Concordance is enhanced by occasional additional tables, a fine sample of which is Table 165b αἰών, *aion*. This is an exhibit on the usage of the word *age* according to Greek phraseology. It lists the occurrences of *unto the ages of the ages, unto the age, this age, unto the ages, end of the age, from the age, etc.* Tables 846a-g αὐτά, *auta* give seventeen different forms in which this personal pronoun appears in the varying forms of gender, number, person, and case, listed according to their respective occurrences. Thus also Tables 3678a, b, c perform a similar service in the uses of οὗτος, *houtos* as found respectively in the nominative masculine singular, nominative masculine plural, and nominative feminine singular. Again Tables 3639a-e ὅς, ἥ, ὅ, *hos, he, ho* give the uses of the relative pronoun by itself, with other particles, as a demonstrative, and with prepositions.

Based on the King James Version the Concordance is of service to the greatest number of Bible students. For words presenting no difficulty the author used *The Englishman's Greek Concordance of the New Testament* as a guide. For words with irregularities the author consulted Bruder's *Concordance of the Greek New Testament.* The format is all that can be desired in a concordance. Clear, legible, compact yet uncrowded, contrasting type, convenient size, and well bound—these and other merits characterize the volume.

A student and colleague of the author for a couple years and close personal friend for thirty-five years, the reviewer regards this monumental work as a symbol of the type of scholarship exemplified by the author. He knew his Greek New Testament, delved deeply in word studies, was intrigued by frequency of usage of Greek words, and was wholly committed to the meaningful comment of Cremer in his *Biblico-Theological Lexicon:* "In order to attain a sure result we must consult linguistic usage."

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